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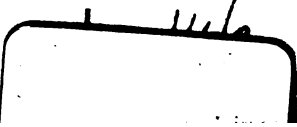


*Sir John Courcy.*



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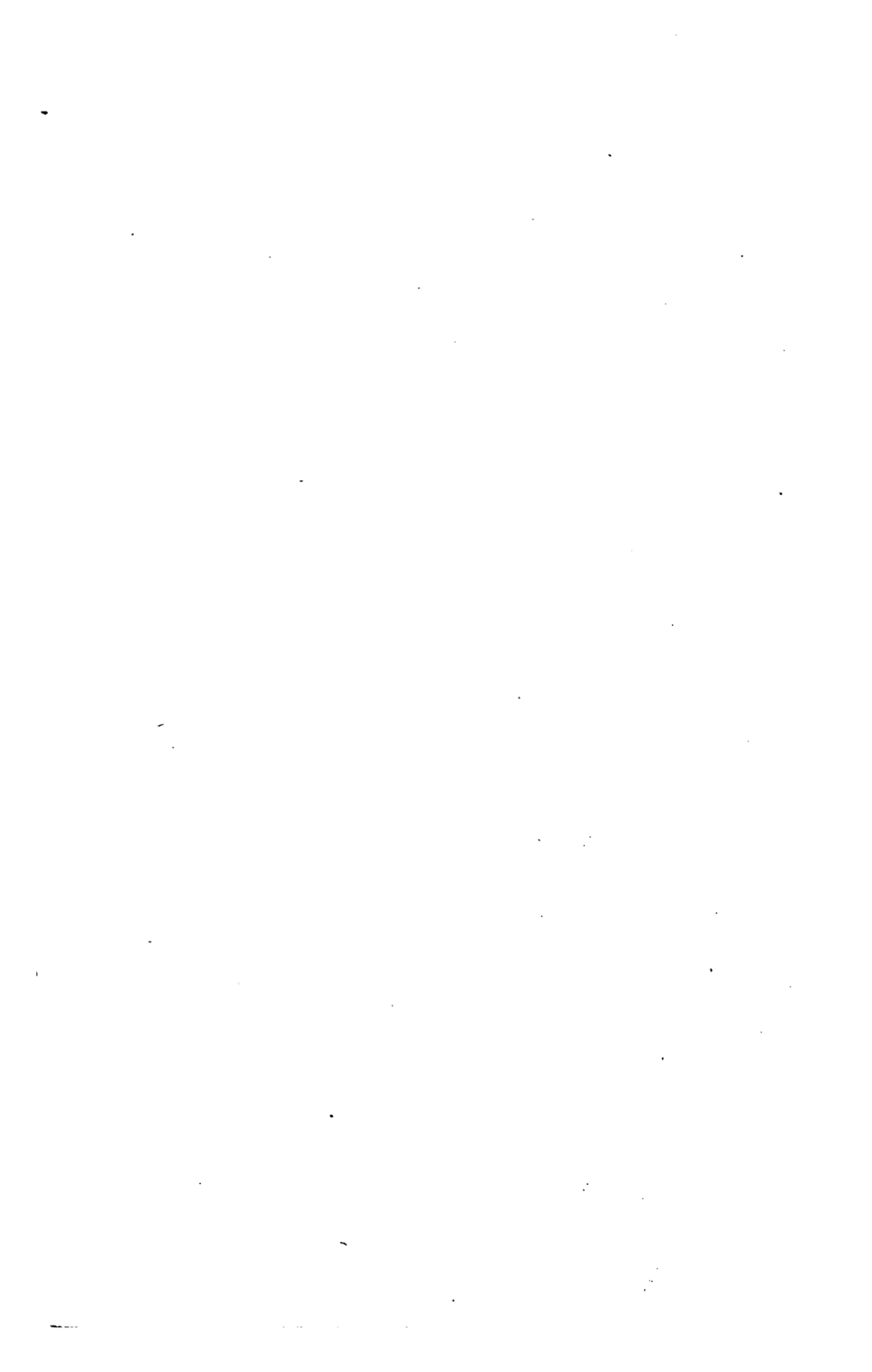
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**HISTORY**  
**OF THE**  
**KING'S GERMAN LEGION.**

**LONDON:**

**MERCHANT, PRINTER, INGRAM-COURT, FENCHURCH-STREET.**





FIRST HUSSARS.



SECOND HUSSARS.

**HISTORY**

**OF THE**

**KING'S GERMAN LEGION,**

**BY**

**N. LUDLOW BEAMISH, F.R.S.**

**LATE MAJOR UNATTACHED.**

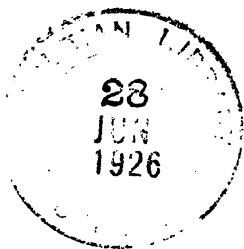
“Hah! Du vielleicht? mein alter Kriegsgefährte, mit dem ich einst meinen letzten Bissen theilte, als uns Alles mangelte—oder Du, dem ich in der Schlacht vom Tumibamba das Leben rettete?—oder Du, dessen Sohn ich befreite, als eben die Feinde ihn niederhauen wollten?”—KOTZEBUE.

**VOL. I.**

**LONDON:**

**THOMAS AND WILLIAM BOONE, NEW BOND STREET.**

**MDCCCXXXII.**



TO HIS EXCELLENCY  
GENERAL CHARLES COUNT VON ALTEN,  
G.C.B. AND G.C.H.  
ETC. ETC. ETC.

To your Excellency as the most distinguished of those expatriated  
Hanoverian soldiers who shared with their brethren of Britain the  
laurels torn from the common enemy, this record of their services

Is inscribed by

Your Excellency's faithful servant,

N. LUDLOW BEAMISH.





## P R E F A C E.

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THE claims of the king's German legion to the notice of the historian are founded upon the distinguished services of that corps in the British army, during the whole extent of a period marked by the greatest exertions which England has ever made, and the most brilliant victories which her arms have ever achieved.

Deprived, by a tissue of untoward circumstances, of the means of redressing, in the ranks of her national armies, the wrongs which their country had sustained, the disbanded Hanoverian military sought that object in those of Britain, and sacrificing the ties of home and kindred to the more exalted feeling of national honour, became voluntary exiles in another land, and fought for the recovery of their own, under the banners of England.

The commencement and termination of the late

war are coincident with similar periods in the history of the king's German legion. Throughout the whole of the peninsular campaigns they bore an active part, and few of those memorable engagements, whose names now stand commemorative of British valour, have not been honourably shared in by some part of the corps.

Such are the pretensions of the German legion to a place in history. It will now be right to shew the authenticity of the work which professes to record their services.

A few years after the reduction of the king's German legion in 1816, three distinguished members of the corps, whose long and conspicuous services had given them a personal knowledge of events well calculated to effect their object, determined upon writing a history of the legion, and the work was actually commenced. These officers had, however, proceeded but a short way towards the completion of their task, when, for various reasons, they were led to discontinue it. This circumstance was, several years after, mentioned to me by a zealous and gallant member of the late corps, who at the same time proposed that I should continue and complete the work, which, on his

promising to provide me with the necessary materials, I undertook to attempt.

To this officer,\* therefore, and to the distinguished individuals alluded to,† who, upon my intentions being made known to them, liberally placed the result of their labours at my disposal, are the public indebted for the documents which form the basis of this history. A residence of more than twelve months in Hanover enabled me to add to these, other important documents, and the same occasion afforded me the advantage of personally communicating with many of the principal actors in the scenes which are here described.

To the gracious interposition of his royal highness the duke of Cambridge I am indebted for having obtained access to the Archives of the Hanoverian Guelphic Order, from which authentic source all accounts of the individual achievements of the non-commissioned officers and soldiers of the corps have been taken.

\* Captain Christoph Heise, K.H. Royal Hanoverian Rifle-Guards.

† Major-general sir George Julius Hartmann, K.C.B. and K.C.H. Royal Hanoverian Artillery.

Colonel George Baring, K.C.H. Royal Hanoverian Grenadier Guards.

Colonel Ernest von Linsingen, K.C.H. Adjutant-general to the Hanoverian Cavalry.

The principal returns have been specially prepared for the work by captain Lewis Benne, formerly attached to the staff of the king's German legion, and now to that of his royal highness the duke of Cambridge. The original illustrations of the different uniforms were drawn by captain count Castell, of the third Hanoverian hussars.

Thus provided, it only remained for me to collate the several manuscripts, investigate the doubtful points, and unite the whole into an historical form.

Those who have attempted the compilation of history will readily believe that one part of this duty, namely, the investigation of facts, has not been unattended with difficulty. The frequent discrepancy between statements respecting the king's German legion in the several works on the Peninsular war, which have appeared in this country, and those that were furnished to me in manuscript by the officers of the corps, rendered it, in this case, peculiarly embarrassing; and I have been, in many instances, reluctantly obliged to reject the authority of standard works, whose authors, however correct in their relation of all matters connected with British regiments, have evidently been unprovided with that information which could alone

enable them to be equally accurate with regard to the German legion. On these grounds a special account of the operations of the German troops during the late war may be allowed to claim an interest distinct from that which has been excited by the annals of the British army in general, during that period.

If, notwithstanding my efforts to be correct, some inaccuracies should have evaded my examination, I trust they will be attributed rather to that impenetrable veil with which truth is so often found encompassed, than to a want of diligence in prosecuting the inquiry; and that, if that extreme minuteness of detail, which in the history of a separate corps may, perhaps, be expected, be not invariably found, the words of the conscientious Barthelemy will be accepted in justification of such deficiencies:—"J'ai mieux aimé supprimer certains faits, que de ne les établir que sur des conjectures."\*

Having found, during my residence in Hanover, that a difference of opinion existed there, both with regard to the comparative merits of the king's German legion in the British army, and with regard

\* *Mémoires sur Anacharsis.*

to the manner in which the corps was disposed of after it had been placed under the Hanoverian government; feeling also that my own judgement was not unbiassed on these questions, I have studiously avoided entering upon them. The encouragement of party feeling is not the object of this work, and I have preferred leaving my readers, unschooled, to the simplicity of facts, to influencing their judgements with the prejudices of a partizan.

LONDON, June, 1832.

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*List of the printed works and manuscripts to which reference is made in this Volume.*

## PRINTED WORKS.

- No. 1. Darstellung der Lage worin sich das Hannöversche militair in den Monathen May, Juny, und July, 1803, befand. 1 heft 8vo. 1803.
2. Historische Berichtigungen des öffentlichen Urtheils über die durch die Französische Occupation des Kurfürstenthums Hannover daselbst veranlassten Militairischen Maasreglen. 2 heft 8vo. Niedersachsen, 1803.
3. Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung, Nos. 55 and 57, Halle, 1804.
4. History of the reign of Geo. III., by Robert Bisset, L.L.D. 6 vol. 8vo. London, 1820.
5. The siege of Copenhagen; or, Documents comprehending an Official Detail of the Bombardment of that City, together with a Danish Narrative of the dreadful calamities suffered by the inhabitants in consequence thereof; the whole compiled from original British and Danish papers. By an Officer from Copenhagen. To which is prefixed an historical account of the City of Copenhagen. 1 vol. 12mo. London, 1808.
6. Bulletins of the Campaigns of the British troops, from 1807 to 1811, compiled from the London Gazettes.
7. History of the War in the Peninsula and in the South of France, from the year 1807 to the year 1814. By W. F. P. Napier, C.B. colonel H.P. forty-third regiment, and member of the Royal Swedish Academy of Military Sciences. Vols. 1, 2, and 3, London, 1828, 1829, and 1830.
8. Narrative of the Peninsular war from 1808 to 1813 by lieutenant-general Charles William Vane, marquess of Londonderry, G.C.B. and G.C.H. colonel of the tenth royal hussars, 2 vol. 8vo. London, 1829.
9. Letters from Flushing, containing an account of the expedition to Walcheren, Beveland, and the mouth of the Scheldt, under the command of the Earl of Chatham, with a topographical and statistical account of the Islands of Walcheren and Beveland. By an Officer of the eighty-first regiment. 1 vol. 8vo. London, 1809.
10. A short narrative of the late campaign of the British army, under the orders of the right honourable the earl of Chatham, K.G. with preliminary remarks on the topography and channels of Zealand, 1 vol. 8vo. London, 1810.

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- No. 11. Further strictures on those parts of colonel Napier's History of the Peninsular war, which relate to the military opinions and conduct of general lord viscount Beresford, to which is added a report of the operations in the Alemtejo and Spanish Estremadura, during the campaign of 1811, by major-general sir Benjamin d'Urban, 1 vol. 8vo. London, 1832.

## MANUSCRIPTS.

## GERMAN.

- No. 1. Narrative of general Frederick von der Decken, G.C.H. Master-general of the Hanoverian ordnance, formerly lieutenant-general and colonel-commandant of the artillery, late king's German legion.
2. Narrative of colonel Ernest von Linsingen, K.C.H. adjutant-general to the Hanoverian cavalry, formerly captain in the first hussars, and major half-pay third hussars, late king's German legion.
3. Journal of colonel Ernest von Linsingen, K.C.H. &c. &c. &c.
4. Correspondence of colonel Ernest von Linsingen, K.C.H. &c. &c. &c.
5. Narrative of colonel George Krauchenberg, K.C.H. inspector of the Hanoverian cavalry, formerly captain in the first hussars, and major half-pay third hussars, late king's German legion.
6. Narrative of sir Lewis Moeller, K.C.H. privy councillor of legation to the Hanoverian mission in London, and secretary to the royal Hanoverian Guelphic order.
7. Journal of the first light battalion, late king's German legion.
8. Narrative of colonel George Baring, K.C.H. commanding the first brigade of Hanoverian infantry, formerly captain in the first light battalion, and major half-pay second light battalion, late king's German legion.
9. Narrative of major-general sir George Julius Hartmann, K.C.B. and K.C.H. of the Hanoverian artillery, lieutenant-colonel late king's German artillery.
10. Journal of major Rautenberg, K.H. formerly captain in the first light battalion, and captain half-pay veteran battalion, late king's German legion.
11. Journal of the second regiment of hussars, late king's German legion.
12. Journal of the third regiment of hussars, late king's German legion.
13. Journal of major Heinemann, K.H. captain half-pay fifth line battalion, late king's German legion.

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15. Narrative of the loss of the Augustus Cæsar transport, by major von Borstel, K.H. captain half-pay first line battalion, late king's German legion.
16. Narrative of doctor Rathje, surgeon in the Hanoverian service, and assistant surgeon half-pay second line battalion, late king's German legion.
17. Narrative of captain George Meyer, K.H. of the third Hanoverian hussars, captain half-pay third hussars, late king's German legion.
18. Journal of third line battalion, late king's German legion.
19. Narrative of lieutenant-colonel Quintus von Goeben, K.H. of the sixth regiment of Hanoverian cavalry, (lancers,) captain half-pay third hussars, late king's German legion.
20. Correspondence of the late major-general Martin, K.C.H. formerly major in the first light battalion, late king's German legion.
21. Journal of doctor Grosskopf, K.H. staff-surgeon in the Hanoverian service, and formerly surgeon in the third hussars, late king's German legion.
22. Journal of captain Schnath, adjutant, half-pay, first line battalion, late king's German legion.
23. Journal of lieutenant Tiensch, half-pay second line battalion, late king's German legion.
24. Journal of captain Stutzer, adjutant half-pay seventh line battalion, late king's German legion.
25. Notes of major von Holle, K.H. captain half-pay second line battalion, late king's German legion.
26. Narrative of lieutenant-colonel George von der Decken, K.H. of the Hanoverian hussar guards, captain half-pay first hussars, late king's German legion.
27. Notes of lieutenant-colonel William von der Decken, K.H. of the Hanoverian rifle guards, captain half-pay second line battalion, late king's German legion.
28. Guelphic Archives, being the attested memorials of the non-commissioned officers and soldiers of the late king's German legion, who claimed the Guelphic medal for extraordinary services during the late war.
29. Narrative of the late captain Bussman, captain half-pay king's German artillery.
30. Journal of eighth line battalion, late king's German legion.
31. Narrative of captain von Hohnstedt of the eighth regiment of Hanoverian infantry, captain, half-pay, sixth line battalion, late king's German legion.

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- No. 32. Narrative of captain George Appuhn of the Hanoverian rifle-guards, and half-pay third line battalion, late king's German legion.
33. Journal of major Cordemann, K.H. of the Hanoverian hussar guards, captain half-pay first hussars, late king's German legion.
34. Correspondence of lieutenant-general baron von Löw, K.C.B. and K.C.H. formerly major-general and colonel commanding fourth line battalion, late king's German legion.
35. Narrative of major-general Augustus von dem Bussche, K.C.H. formerly captain in the third and major in the 2d hussars, late king's German legion.
36. Narrative of major Moritz von Müller, captain half-pay first hussars, late king's German legion.

## ENGLISH.

- No. 1. Narrative of the late general Charles Count von Linsingen, G.C.H. formerly lieutenant-general and colonel of the first hussars, late king's German legion.
2. Narrative of major-general sir Hugh Halkett, C.B. and K.C.H. commanding the third brigade of Hanoverian infantry, lieutenant-colonel half-pay seventh line battalion, and formerly major in the second light battalion late king's German legion.
3. Narrative of major-general sir Loftus William Otway, Kt. C.B.

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Battle of Albuera .....	<i>to face page</i>	342

# ERRATA.

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- Page 5, line 19, *et passim*, for "Walmoden" read "Wallmoden."  
margin, for "Hannöveresche" read "Hannöverische," for  
" in dem Monathen" read " in den Monathen."
- .. 12, line 1, for "Calenbergischen Landstande" read "Calenbergis-  
chen Lanstände."
- .. 19, Note, for "öffentlichen" read "öffentlichen."
- .. 22, line 6, for "commercial counsellor" read "privy counsellor."
- .. 26, .. 14, *et passim*, for "agreeably" read "agreeable."
- .. 27, .. 27, for "Borstle" read "Borstel."
- .. 32, margin, for "Berechtigungen" read "Berichtigungen."  
note, *et passim*, for "Lüneburgher" read "Lüneburgian."
- .. 38, line 5, for "fassier" read "fassiez."
- .. 42, .. 14, for "Veuilles" read "Veuillez."
- .. 44, .. 10, for "31st" read "1st of July."
- .. 44, .. 11, for "communications" read "communication."
- .. 59, .. 4, for "for" read "of."
- .. 64, .. 6, after "and" read "much of."
- .. 72, margin, for "colonel" read "general."
- .. 74, line 13, for "Holsteen" read "Holstein."
- .. 75, .. 25, for "similer" read "similar."
- .. 76, .. 6, for "Offney" read "Offeney."
- .. 77, .. 25, for "four" read "three."
- .. 80, .. 3, after "artillery" read "and engineers."
- .. 84, .. 21, for "Kühlmann" read "Kahlmann."
- .. 87, .. 3, for "Wangerode" read "Wangeroge."
- .. 87, .. 23, for "Dreschel" read "Drechsel."
- .. 94, .. 23, for "humbly" read "humble."
- .. 97, .. 4 from bottom, *et passim*, for "Marshalk" read "Mars-  
chalk."
- .. 102, .. 4, for "an" read "on."
- .. 103, margin, *et passim*, for "Bissett" read "Bisset."
- .. 105, .. 1, for "of all parties concerned," read "of the officers  
and crew of the gun-brig."
- .. 105, .. 10, for "fifth" read "fourth."
- .. 107, .. 4, for "Sweden" read "Denmark."
- .. 109, .. 25, for "Wedbeck" read "Webeck."
- .. 110, .. 28, for "Freiderickswerk" read "Friederickswerk."
- .. 112, .. 17, for "Tschering" read "Tcherning."

- Page 114, line 27, for "Freiderickswerk" read "Friederickswerk."  
 .. 115, .. margin, for "1803" read "1807."  
 .. 116, .. 6, for "Freidericksberg" read "Friedericksberg."  
 .. 119, .. 20, for "Oschenskiold" read "Castenskjold."  
 .. 122, .. 1, for "Linginsen" read "Linsingen."  
 .. 124, .. 1, for "Schnüring" read "Schneering."  
 .. 126, .. 18, for "adjutant-general" read "quarter-master-general."  
 .. 130, .. 3, for "twenty-six" read "sixteen."  
 .. 131, .. 6, for "first" read "seventh."  
 .. 131, .. 9, for "same regiment" read "first line battalion."  
 .. 131, .. 28, for "legion" read "battalion."  
 .. 135, .. 20, dele "his."  
 .. 137, .. 23, for "Magens" read "Magius."  
 .. 139, .. last line, for "two hundred and twenty-six" read "four hundred and sixty."  
 .. 141, .. 25, dele "all."  
 .. 163, margin, for "Gruben" read "Goeben."  
 .. 171, line 2, for "Puebla de Sante" read "Pueblo de San."  
 .. 171, .. 4, for "there" read "three."  
 .. 171, .. 6, for "Puebla" read "Pueblo."  
 .. 171, .. 24, for "brigadier-general" read "lieutenant-colonel."  
 .. 172, .. 10, for "Ribiadavia" read "Ribadavia."  
 .. 173, .. 4, for "which" read "who."  
 .. 179, .. margin for "journal" read "narrative."  
 .. 182, .. 1, for "compliment" read "complement."  
 .. 187, .. note, for "Fienck" read "Tiensch."  
 .. 189, note, The four line battalions were at this period in the actual command of the following officers:—  
     1st line battalion.....major Bodecker.  
     2d do. ....lieut.-col. Brauns.  
     5th do. ....major Gerber.  
     7th do. ....major Berger.  
 .. 192, .. 5, for "Ragoa" read "Regoa."  
 .. 192, .. margin, *et passim*, for "Hölle" read "Holle;" for "first line battalions" read "second line battalion."  
 .. 209, .. 17-18, for "eighteen rank and file killed, two officers and nine rank and file wounded" read "nineteen rank and file killed, one officer, five serjeants, and forty-four rank and file wounded."  
 .. 216, .. 27, *et passim*, for "bombadier" read "bombardier."  
 .. 219, .. 7, for "regiment" read "corps."  
 .. 223, last line, for "Soult" read "South."  
 .. 227, line 1, for "Ruttern" read "Ruttem."  
 .. 228, .. 9, for "laying" read "lying."  
 .. 228, .. 23, for "Ost-Zobourg" read "Oost-Soubourg."  
 .. 240, .. 8, for "at" read "the."



# ERRATA.

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- Page 241, line 2, *et passim*, for "Liefkensshock" read "Liefkenshoek."
- .. 259, .. 18, *et passim*, for "Fiurama" read "Fiumara."
- .. 260, .. 3, for "Capo d'Arno" read "Capo d'Armi."
- .. 261, .. 19, for "aid" read "aide."
- .. 268, .. 28, for "Golegoa" read "Golegao."
- .. 273, margin for "Linisngen" read "Linsingen."
- .. 277, line 3, for "strength" read "number."
- .. 277, .. 26, for "squadrons" read "Hanoverians."
- .. 279, .. 20, for "da Bispo" read "do Bispo."
- .. 284, .. 13, for "Louvea" read "Gouveia."
- .. 285, .. 4, after "the" read "British."
- .. 285, .. 14, for "Mongualde" read "Mangualde."
- .. 286, .. 6, for "killed" read "wounded."
- .. 286, .. 7, for "lieutenant Decken and four men were wounded" read "lieutenant Decken's horse was killed, and four men were wounded."
- .. 286, .. 8, after "two" read "hussar."
- .. 287, line 7, *et passim*, for "Mortagao" read "Martagao."
- .. 288, .. 23, for "Dao" read "Dão."
- .. 321, .. 19, for "Puente" read "Ponte."
- .. 322, .. 6, for "Fons" read "Foz."
- .. 327, last line of text, for "third" read "fifth."
- .. 328, margin, for "Journal of colonel von Linsingen" read "London Gazette."
- .. 328, line 13, for "Poco Velha" read "Poco Velho," after "morn-  
ing" read "of the fifth."
- .. 342, .. 7, for "his" read "the French."
- .. 342, .. 14, for "Solana" read "Solano."

## APPENDIX, No. VI. A.

First column, for "approved" read "approval."

Column rank and file, transfer the 38 recruits "deserted," to column "Total."

## B.

Names of officers shipwrecked, for "Geogre" read "George,"  
for "Farber" read "Färber."

Memorandum, for "37" read "337."

## No. XI. B.

Names of officers wounded, after "lieutenant Ernest Poten se-  
verely" *dele* "arm amputated."

## DIRECTIONS FOR THE BINDER.

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Officer of the first hussars.....	<i>to face the title</i>
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THE  
HISTORY  
OF THE  
KING'S GERMAN LEGION.

---

CHAPTER I.

THE electorate of Hanover had not yet recovered 1803.  
from the deep wounds which the French revolu- March.  
tionary war, the support of an army on her frontier,  
and, above all, the occupation of her territory by  
Prussia, had inflicted upon the resources of the  
state, and the spirit of the people; when new  
misunderstandings between France and England  
threatened her with a renewal of those afflictions  
from which she had just been relieved.

Measures of mistaken economy, and an extreme  
apathy on the part of the Hanoverian government,  
had been for some years operating to lessen the  
military importance of the electorate, and now  
rendered it ill qualified to assume a defensive  
position; the army had been reduced, the for-

1803. tresses neglected, great part of the existing force  
 March. suffered to return home on leave of absence, many  
 vacancies in regiments, both among officers and  
 men, had been allowed to remain unfilled, and a  
 general relaxation of military discipline and mili-  
 tary spirit had been permitted to engender.

Official  
 Returns.

In March, 1803, the nominal strength of the  
 army, including cavalry, infantry, artillery, and en-  
 gineers, amounted to 15,546: of these, however,  
 more than one third were on furlough, and the  
 effective force could not be fairly estimated at  
 more than ten thousand men.

Such was the strength of the Hanoverian army,  
 when M. de Talleyrand's celebrated *note verbale* to  
 the English ambassador\* sufficiently indicated the  
 first consul's designs upon the electorate.

According to the principles of justice, good faith,  
 and the acknowledged rights of nations, Hanover  
 was justified in an expectation of being allowed to  
 remain an undisturbed spectator of the impending  
 contest; under the treaty of Basle she could claim  
 neutrality, and, as an integral part of the German  
 empire, the protection afforded her by the peace of  
 Luneville. But such claims had little weight with  
 the then ruler of France. Under the pretext that if

\* Communicated to lord Whitworth at Paris, on the 11th of March,  
 and which stated,—“ If we do not receive satisfactory explanation  
 respecting these armaments in England, and if they actually take place,  
*it is natural* that the first consul should march 20,000 men into Holland.  
 These troops being once in the country, *it is natural* that an encampment  
 should be formed on the frontiers of Hanover,” &c.

the sovereign of two countries declare war as king of one, his other territory must necessarily be involved in the same contest, Napoleon justified his occupation of Hanover.

That such a calamity, however, was to be apprehended by the electorate, her prime minister, the baron von Lenthe, would not allow himself to believe: that he who had violated the most solemn engagements of the treaty of Luneville; who, instead of restoring the independence of Switzerland, Holland, and the Italian republic, was endeavouring to fix more firmly his despotic rule in those subjected countries;—he who, alike uninfluenced by national or personal honour, sought to evade his sacred promise to the German emperor, and withhold all indemnification to the grand duke Ferdinand for the loss of Tuscany;—he who had scarcely ratified the treaty of Amiens, when he took measures for its violation;—should now meditate a breach of faith with the empire by invading one of her provinces, baron von Lenthe persisted in considering a groundless and unwarrantable alarm; and notwithstanding the king's message to parliament of the 8th of March, the consequent preparations in England, (of which he, residing in London, must have been fully aware,) M. Talleyrand's *note verbale* of the 11th, and the still more decisive evidence of approaching war which an actual assembly of French troops in Holland furnished,—this unsuspecting statesman persevered in

1803.

March.

1803. an opinion that no hostilities would take place, and  
 March. succeeded in rendering his colleagues in Hanover  
 equally insensible to the gathering storm.

But his majesty was far from encouraging so groundless an expectation, and it must ever be lamented, by all those who value the attachment of a loyal people, and the feelings of a brave and devoted army, that the energetic measures which were on this occasion devised by our benevolent sovereign for the defence of the electorate and the protection of her troops, should have been frustrated by the false confidence of his Hanoverian minister.

Narrative  
 of general  
 von der  
 Decken,  
 MSS.

So early as the end of March, major von der Decken, aid-de-camp to his royal highness the duke of Cambridge, (who, without being a member of the Hanoverian cabinet, served as lieutenant-general in that army,) was commissioned, at an interview with which he was honoured by his majesty in London, to acquaint his royal highness that his majesty's wishes were, first, that endeavours should be made to procure assistance from Prussia, in case of which being unsuccessful, the troops to be drawn towards Stade, and if then found unable to oppose any effective resistance to the enemy, that they should be there embarked for England.

His late majesty, then prince of Wales, and their royal highnesses the dukes of York and Clarence, strenuously supported the views of the king, and the English ministry sanctioned the preparation of

transports for the conveyance of the Hanoverian troops, and their being taken into British pay on their arrival in England. 1803.  
March.

This considerate and judicious design was, however, totally defeated by the inflexible pertinacity of baron von Lenthe; and the non-interference of the British government in Hanoverian politics left that minister at full liberty to guide the helm of the electorate, and to dictate to his acquiescent colleagues a temporizing and pernicious policy.

However, after England had been one month in expectation of, and in preparation for, an event of which his majesty's message to parliament intimated the approach, baron von Lenthe decided that some precautionary measures on the part of Hanover were also advisable, and in furtherance of this view an official communication was despatched from London, on the 8th of April, addressed to field marshal von Walmoden Gimborn, then at the head of the Hanoverian army. This document stated that, "it appeared adapted to circumstances to employ the present time, usually devoted to the exercise of the troops, to call in all those on furlough, and to make arrangements for a camp of instruction, in order that the regiments might be brought together without exciting public attention, and thus, at all

Darstellung der Lage worin sich das Hannöversche Militair in dem Monaten May, Juny, und July, 1803, befand.\*

\* This work is supposed to have been written by marshal Walmoden: it was published in Hanover, in the German and French languages, and nearly all the statements are verified by copies of official documents appended to the work."

1803. events, to prevent the scattered garrisons from  
 March. being unexpectedly cut off:" it further empowered  
 marshal Walmoden to take the steps necessary on  
 his part for the execution of the proposed plan,  
 which was stated to be, for the present, "solely  
 limited to measures of precaution."

The official note which contained these instruc-  
 tions reached marshal Walmoden on the 19th, and  
 on the following day he sought further instruction  
 from the ministry respecting the prescribed arrange-  
 ments, which not corresponding with his own no-  
 tions of the best means to be adopted for putting the  
 country into a state of preparation against danger,  
 also feeling doubtful as to the extent of preparation  
 intended to be made, led him to submit to the  
 ministry the following queries:—

Darstel-  
 lung, &c.

In what part of the country are the troops to be  
 assembled?

Upon what place are they to fall back?

Is the fortress of Hameln to be put in a state of  
 defence?

What are in general our means of resistance?  
 and,

To what extent shall we be permitted to employ  
 them?

The field marshal added his conviction that the  
 execution of "the measures which the approach of  
 danger would require, could not be effected in a  
 short time," and concluded by stating that "he  
 found himself obliged to press most urgently



for a decision respecting the points of preparation alluded to, or to give up the possibility of being able to execute them with promptitude." 1803.  
April.

The reply of the Hanoverian cabinet, on the 22d, was as inconsistent as extraordinary.

"The ministry," say they, "entirely acknowledges the necessity for detailed determinations, which the object in view requires; nevertheless, as those determinations depend entirely upon the future developement of affairs, it would be not only dangerous but altogether impracticable to countenance them with too much warmth, and to fix positively upon points of detail. On the whole the ministry view two points as the most important to be first decided on; the one to avoid for the moment all that could *give umbrage*, or create notoriety, (*faire un éclat*,) by which what is feared might be brought on; the second to concert all the preparatory measures which are not contrary to the first point of view, and which might assist the execution of the king's orders." Darstellung, &c.

The field marshal, perceiving clearly that this note of the cabinet empowered him literally *to do nothing*, decided upon laying the state of his hereditary dominions before the king himself, and on the 27th addressed a letter to London, in which he unreservedly detailed the situation of the country.

"The army," said he, "is very different from what it appears on paper: it has been considerably

1803. weakened by desertion, which sudden changes and  
 April. alarms will increase, and it is absolutely deprived  
 Darstel- of all means of being recruited. We shall be  
 lung, &c. obliged to leave small garrisons in several places;  
 the fortress of Hameln cannot be abandoned; and  
 all the infantry that can be calculated on amounts  
 to ten thousand bayonets: the cavalry want more  
 than five hundred horses, part of which are em-  
 ployed by the horse artillery, from whom they can-  
 not be taken, and even replaced would be useless,  
 unless at the same time means are found to supply  
 one hundred and forty men, which the cavalry want  
 to complete," &c.

Meantime the designs of France became more developed, and the title of *armée d'Hanovre*, given to the troops which she had collected on the Dutch frontier, rendered their destination no longer doubtful.

Marshal Walmoden, therefore, delayed not in taking every step compatible with the restriction by which his exertions were bounded: the Elbe and Weser were reconnoitered, the necessary field equipage put in preparation, the repairs required at Hameln commenced, and on the 4th of May an exact account of what had been done was laid by him before the ministry, who were at the same time informed that, "in consequence of the interdiction of all preparations that might give '*umbrage*,'"

\* The following anecdote, in explanation of the meaning attached by the ministry to the word "*umbrage*," was related to me in Hanover. The

he found himself incapable of making any further arrangements." 1803.

May.

This declaration the marshal supported; on the following day, by a long and pressing note in which the ministry were plainly told that, "according to the principles which they had laid down, their measures literally amounted to *doing nothing*;" a considerable augmentation of the army was strongly urged upon them; the details consequent upon this measure brought to their notice; and, finally, they were requested to inform the marshal, who naturally felt that he would be held responsible for the execution of their plans, what were their absolute intentions with regard to the defence of the country.

Darstellung, &c.

The ministry had already decided upon authorizing the assembly of the camp of instruction, suggested to them by the official communication from London, which has been already mentioned, when this note reached them; and marshal Walmoden was consequently, on the following day, empowered to undertake the arrangements necessary for the accomplishment of that object: no

general commanding the Hanoverian army having been instructed by the ministry not to suffer the troops to fire, and only in case of emergency "to use the bayonet with moderation," Baron A——, one of that body, was questioned by a friend, "whether such orders had absolutely been given," and "what was meant by *using the bayonet with Christian moderation*?" The minister, in reply, acknowledged "that the statement was substantially true," but declared "that the word '*Christian*' was an uncharitable addition of the public!"

1803. notice, however, was taken of his observations  
 May. respecting an augmentation of the army, and the  
 camp of instruction appeared to be the utmost  
 Darstellung, &c. extent of preparation on which they were disposed  
 to venture.

With reference to this measure, marshal Walmoden reported, on the 9th of May, that the regiments could not be brought together in less than three weeks. The intelligence from London now furnished a confirmation of the probability that war would be immediately declared, and that from Holland announced the approach of a French army. Walmoden, therefore, again addressed the ministry, and after detailing the arrangements which he had been enabled to make, recurred thus energetically to the important point of augmentation.

“ The ministry have already been informed of the actual number of effective troops, and can judge what will remain after Hameln has been garrisoned with three thousand men ; double the number remaining is necessary to support an obstinate and continued defence ; the insufficiency of so weak a corps, however stimulated by duty its ardour and bravery may be, cannot escape the observation of the ministry. But we have resources ; this is a fact not doubtful ; they existed formerly, and we did not hesitate to have recourse to them under circumstances of much less danger than those which probably now await us. \* \* \* \*

“ This is no question of war with foreign coun-

tries ; we seek but to defend our own, to protect the property of individuals, our own homes, and to ensure our personal safety. Who would withhold his person and all his exertions from a co-operation in this defence? Arms and ammunition are not wanting ; we have only to assemble the combatants. The field-marshal feels confident that they will be found if proper measures be taken to procure them.”

1803.

May.

Darstellung, &amp;c.

“ If we should even be unable to assemble such an army as the electorate furnished during the seven years' war, we may at least calculate on collecting, in a short time, from twenty-eight to thirty thousand men.

“ A corps of this strength would always render an absolute defence possible, and, even anticipating the most unfortunate consequences, that of being obliged to yield to a superior force, the position must be again laid down, that it is only with arms in our hands, and provided with a respectable force, that we can hope to obtain an equitable, and not a disgraceful capitulation.”

This note was drawn up by marshal Walmoden in concert with his royal highness the duke of Cambridge, who, however, did not place much dependence upon the doubtful prospect of a capitulation, (more than once alluded to by marshal Walmoden,) but strongly advocated the more vigorous measure of determined resistance.

The deputies for the province of Calenberg

1803. (*Calenbergsche Landstande*) also advocated defensive  
May. measures; and to these united counsels the ministry  
Darstel- at length yielded. An augmentation of the army  
lung, &c. from twenty-five to thirty thousand men was decided  
on, and the note of the 13th of May, which com-  
municated to marshal Walmoden this acquiescence  
in his proposition, invited him, at the same time,  
to a personal communication with the ministry; a  
freedom of intercourse which, although so impera-  
tively called for by the official activity and expedi-  
tion which the state of the country demanded, had  
yet, up to this moment, never been offered to him.

1803.

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May.

## CHAPTER II.

ON the 13th of May, therefore, about two months after the king's message to parliament was known in Hanover, the government of that country decided upon taking the first step of any value towards its defence, and the manner in which this was attempted to be put in execution was singularly unhappy. Darstellung, &c.

The belief implied in marshal Walmoden's note of the 11th of May, that no subject of the electorate would withhold his personal exertions from the defence of the country, if proper means were adopted for calling them into action, which opinion was afterwards supported by his verbal expressions to the same effect, was adopted by the ministry to such an extent as to induce them to issue a proclamation on the 16th of May, which set forth, "that, although the king, as elector and member of the German empire, had determined to observe the most strict neutrality with regard to the points of difference between the governments of England and France, yet as the movement of troops in Holland made evident the possibility of the existing negotiations not terminating pacifically, it was, therefore, necessary to ascertain, without delay, the Appendix,  
No. I. A.

1803. number of inhabitants capable of bearing arms ;  
 May. that, merely with this view, the magistrates were  
 required to make out a complete list of all subjects  
 of the government, and *solemnly to bind them to*  
*place themselves, in case of necessity, at its disposi-*  
 Appendix, *tion, for the defence and deliverance of the country,*  
 No. I. A. *for so long a period as the necessity may exist and*  
*the defence of the land require."*

" Any one avoiding this engagement by removing himself out of the country, should," it was added, " forfeit his property and patrimony without hope of pardon."

This proclamation, which was naturally interpreted to be a requisition for a *levée en masse* of the inhabitants, was received with marked dissatisfaction throughout the country : whole districts (*amts bezirke*) formally refused to comply with its demands; others required time to think, and employed that time in sending all their sons out of the country who were capable of bearing arms. The reports which poured in to the ministry from the authorities charged with the execution of their orders, soon communicated to them these fatal consequences of their incipient measure, and impressed them with the necessity of speedily interposing some preventative: another proclamation was, therefore, issued on the 24th, which explicitly declared that " the views of the government had never been directed to a *levée en masse*, and that in requiring a list of all subjects capable of bearing arms, they



did so merely for the purpose of being able to call out the number of men necessary to complete the regular army, in which it was intended they should serve in the capacity of regular soldiers, for so long a period as the defence of the country required.”

1803.

May.

Appendix  
No. 1. B.

This contradictory document served only to confirm the people in the opinion that a *levée en masse* was originally intended, and impressed them with no favourable opinion of the candour or firmness of their ministry.

Meantime, another communication from London added to the difficulties and discouragement which now seemed daily to present new impediments to the adoption of any vigorous or decided measures. This note, which was addressed to general Walmoden in reply to his statement of the 27th of April, acknowledged the painful feelings with which his representations had been received, and rendered justice to the zeal for the troops entrusted to his charge, by which these representations had been dictated; with regard, however, to that point on which it was so necessary that he should be precisely instructed, namely, whether, in case of invasion, an actual resistance was or was not to be made, it merely informed him that “the decision of this question must entirely depend upon the degree of utility which, under the circumstances, such a measure might be expected to afford; and

Darstellung, &amp;c.

1803. it would be superfluous to add that, if there was a  
 May. probability of repulsing the enemy, and really  
 Darstel- defending the country, they should not hesitate in  
 lung, &c. employing all possible resources to obtain this  
 essential object. If, on the contrary, the too  
 superior force of the enemy, and other too disad-  
 vantageous circumstances, should reduce them to  
 feel satisfied with saving the most valuable effects,  
 and that it should be necessary to limit themselves  
 to withdrawing the corps into a position where there  
 might be some probability of its receiving assist-  
 ance, or effecting its embarkation, or, in fine,  
 obtaining a less unfavourable capitulation, then the  
 means to be employed should only be proportionate  
 to these objects."

"However warm an interest," it continued, "his  
 majesty may take in the safety and honour of his  
 brave troops, the *paramount* attention which should  
 be paid to the good of the country in general, and  
 that of the subject, ought to prevent the adoption  
 of measures, the weight of which would, without  
 producing any general benefit, only augment those  
 evils which are already inevitable. It is under this  
 point of view that the ministry and the field-mar-  
 shal should consider the subject: it is impossible,  
 in consequence of the great distance, and the uncer-  
 tainty respecting the events which may arise, to  
 give here more precise orders. It is confidently  
 felt that, if the troops be called upon, they will give

new proofs of their bravery, and of their attachment to the king and his house, whose benevolent participation will be always insured to them," &c. 1803.  
May.

Discouraging and indefinite as these instructions Darstel-  
lung, &c. were, they yet gave to marshal Walmoden and the ministry a power of deciding upon the course to be pursued; and although this latitude was coupled with a responsibility which gave every reason to apprehend that the result, and not the motive, of their measures would influence the public judgment upon them, they yet ventured to persevere in the preparations for defence, which had now been earnestly commenced. An augmentation of each infantry regiment to twelve hundred men, and a general enlistment for this supply were ordered and entered upon; the organization of a rifle corps, to be formed out of the game-keepers (*jagd-bedienten*) and other good marksmen, was authorized; conscriptions of horses were levied throughout the country; incessant exertions made to place Hameln in a state of defence; conspicuous endeavours shown by the officers of artillery to render that arm effective; in short, all that activity which a union of zeal, patriotism, and courage could give, was exhibited throughout the several military departments.

But what years have destroyed cannot be made good in days; and a painful conviction was soon afforded that the decision of the ministry had been formed too late.

Major von der Decken, who, early in May, had

1803. been sent to Berlin for the purpose of endeavour-  
 May. ing to obtain assistance from Prussia, returned from  
 thence on the 30th of the same month, having been  
 entirely unsuccessful in the object of his mission.  
 Diplomatic intrigues, terminating in a strong note  
 of Russia, which stated that the occupation of Han-  
 over by Prussian troops would be considered by the  
 autocrat as a declaration of war, were the immediate  
 causes of this result; the duke of Brunswick also,  
 who, it was proposed, should have the command  
 of the allied army, declined the offer; and thus  
 was the electorate, notwithstanding the boasted  
 benefits of the Germanic confederation, the pro-  
 tecting solemnity of the imperial decree,\* and her  
 expected guardianship by the British government,  
 thrown, finally, upon her own limited resources,  
 and left single-handed to cope with the armies of  
 France.

It was on this occasion that his royal highness  
 the duke of Cambridge, in a letter addressed to  
 baron von Lenthe, expressed those noble sentiments  
 which will ever stand a bright example of princely  
 feeling and patriotic devotion.—“ *Rest assured,*”  
 wrote his royal highness, “ *that I will sacrifice my*

\* In the imperial decree, addressed to the *Reichs Versammlung*,  
 September 1, 1792, it is said,—“ If an individual state or province of  
 the empire be attacked by a foreign power, the whole of Germany is  
 thereby attacked, and the confederation of the empire being thus involved,  
 powerful assistance, from the united means of the empire, shall be  
 afforded to the state attacked.”

*blood and life for a country to which I am so much attached."*

1803.

May.

But no sacrifice, however exalted, could repair the evils which misgovernment had brought on, or overcome the difficulties which, augmenting as the danger approached, now rose on every side around the measures of the ministry. The most effective young men, and those with whom their families could best dispense, having been prepared, by the proclamation of the 16th, for the enforcement of a *levée en masse*, and experience having taught them to regard with little apprehension the threatened consequences of evading the requisition, took advantage of the time which elapsed before the execution of the professed spirit of that proclamation was entered upon, to leave the country; the consequence of which abstraction from the number of eligible recruits, was, that, when the conscription absolutely began, the magistrates were in most places obliged to enrol only sons of farmers, boys of fourteen, nay, in many cases, fathers of families, and even then were unable to furnish their prescribed quota.

Historische  
Berichti-  
gungen.\*

The severity of this alternative, also, produced universal dissatisfaction, and in some places absolute insurrection; the magistrates were personally

\* Historische Berichtigungen des öffentlichen Urtheils über die durch die Französische Occupation des Kurfürstenthums Hannover daselbst veranlassten Militairischen Maasregeln. *Niedersachsen*, 1803.

This work is attributed to an officer of the late Hanoverian life-guards.

1803. insulted, and the new conscripts forcibly liberated.

May. To quell these disorders it was necessary to send military detachments from the nearest garrisons,

Historische  
Bericht-  
ungen.

and thus was time lost, and the troops, instead of being occupied in preparations for active service in the field, were driven about the country to enforce compliance with the laws. To this cause of delay was added that produced by the apathy of individual magistrates, who treated a measure, on the expeditious effecting of which the preservation of the country might have depended, with the same phlegmatic tranquillity that they would observe towards an ordinary judicial proceeding, and considered the delay of a few days quite as unimportant in the one case as in the other.

The supply of horses was attended with equal difficulty; no general returns of the horses of the country were in possession of the government, and a protracted examination and selection of them was, therefore, ordered. This alone was an operation which required some weeks: then came petitions from individual *bauers*, to be exempted from the proposed levy: these had to be considered and reported upon, (for none of the usual forms and delays of office could be dispensed with;) and thus, when hours were of value, whole days were uselessly sacrificed. At length, horses were taken from the plough wherever they could be procured, and distributed among the cavalry, artillery, and train.

A most unaccountable ignorance, both of the

force and position, as well as of the designs of the enemy, existed among the authorities in Hanover. 1803.  
May.

The French troops on the Yssel, which did not exceed twelve thousand ill-appointed combatants, without artillery, and having but a few squadrons of badly-mounted cavalry,\* were magnified into an army of thirty thousand men; these, it was supposed, would not pass the Ems before the Hanoverian ministry had been allowed time and opportunity to negotiate, or should any hostile movement be commenced by them, that it would be confined to occupying the mouths of the Elbe and Weser, taking possession of Hamburgh and Bremen, and, perhaps, that part of the electorate situated near these places: the ministry, therefore, judged it prudent to abstain from any *offensive* measure, and decided that, even if it were positively ascertained that the French were advancing towards the frontier, their movements should be met by a deputation, having for its object the obtaining, by negotiation, favourable terms for the electorate. Darstellung, &c.

The former suppositions were soon found to be fallacious, and the rapid advance of the French army rendered the execution of the measure with which it had been decided to meet that event, immediately necessary: two deputies, M. von Bremer, chief of the tribunal of justice, and lieutenant-colonel von Bock, of the regiment of

\* Allg. Literatur-Zeitung, 1804.—Num. 55, p. 437.

1808. life-guards, were, therefore, selected, and com-  
 May. missioned to proceed forthwith towards the frontier,  
 and endeavour to meet the French head-quar-  
 ters either there or on their entrance into the  
 country. At the request of Messrs. von Bremer  
 and Bock, commercial counsellor Brandes was per-  
 mitted to accompany them; and, supposing the  
 march of the French army to be directed upon  
 Quakenbrück, Wildeshausen, and, perhaps, Osnab-  
 rüch, these three gentlemen left Hanover.

Darstel-  
 lung, &c.

In order to gain further information respecting the enemy's line of march, the deputies took the road by Nienburg, Suhlingen, and Diepholtz, on which they soon ascertained that, instead of the French being, as was supposed, in march for Wildeshausen, they were moving upon Quakenbrück, at which place the head-quarters had absolutely arrived, the advanced guard being on the road to Diepholtz.

The departure of the deputies did not cause any relaxation in the defensive measures which had been commenced. On the 30th of May, the foot-guards left Hanover for Nienburg, and on the same day prince Schwartzburg's regiment repaired to Neustadt; a number of undrilled recruits, great part of whom had not yet been clothed, a few chasseurs, and one battery of horse-artillery, followed these regiments, marshal Walmoden's intention being to unite the whole on the right bank of



the Weser, and form a line of defence extending 1803.  
from the junction of that river with the Aller to May.  
Stoltzenau.

Meantime, accounts of the enemy's continued Darstel-  
lung, &c.  
advance towards the frontier followed each other with rapidity, and every succeeding hour rendered the situation of the electorate more critical; the reports made to marshal Walmoden by the different colonels of regiments, and from the *employés* of the army in general, as well respecting the measures which were in progress as those which could only have been commenced, determined him to order the transport of recruits to be discontinued; a mass of undisciplined men would, he conceived, prove rather an incumbrance than an acquisition to the army; it was, also, impossible to furnish them with ammunition and appointments, and he therefore felt justified in taking a step apparently inconsistent with his former suggestions.

On the 1st of June his royal highness the duke of Cambridge took the command of the troops which had been brought together at Nienburg, amounting to about four thousand men; and his royal highness made immediate dispositions for surprising the enemy's advanced posts on the night of the 2d.

But, on the 2d of June, the deputies returned to Hanover with the appalling intelligence that the French commander, general Mortier, had been instructed to require the surrender of the whole

1803. Hanoverian army as prisoners of war, the object of  
 June. the first consul being, as he informed them, to  
 Historische procure as many prisoners as possible, in order  
 Berichti- that he might be provided with the means of re-  
 gungen. gaining, by exchange, those French troops which  
 the English might capture during the approaching  
 war.

In not insisting upon the troops becoming prisoners of war, general Mortier stated that he would be departing from his instructions, and suffering himself to be guided by the advice and opinion of the generals whom he had consulted, and who thought with him that the advantage of avoiding considerable losses on both sides, and the sacrifice of so many brave men, would justify him in thus departing from the express orders of the first consul.

The deputies were pressed to give a final answer, and were forewarned that the march of the French troops would not be discontinued, and that if the least resistance was made to them, and the French general had once crossed the Weser, he should no longer feel himself bound by any offer which he had previously made.

Darstel-  
lung, &c.

The whole effective force at general Walmoden's disposal might, at this moment, be confidently calculated at two thousand seven hundred cavalry and six thousand three hundred infantry; and the regiments coming from the Göttingen country were already in march, and would have reached the

Weser in a few days ; neither marshal Walmoden, however, nor the ministry felt sufficient confidence in this force to trust to it either for the defence of the country against the invading army, or for the obtaining, by the successes with which its first offensive efforts were almost sure to be attended, more favourable conditions than those which Mortier had already proposed ; and they therefore decided that the deputies should be sent back to the French head-quarters fully empowered to conclude a convention on those terms, at the same time endeavouring to moderate Mortier's demand if possible ; which negotiation having been decided upon, his royal highness the duke of Cambridge was recalled from Nienburg. Between this place and Neustadt the prince was met by the deputies, now proceeding with their final instructions to the French head-quarters ; and having learned from them that they were empowered to concede to that proposition of general Mortier which rendered it obligatory on the Hanoverian army not to serve against the French during the war, his royal highness, in accordance with a previous declaration which he had made, " never to become a party to such an engagement," placed his commission, on the following morning, at the disposal of the ministry, and the same day left the country for England.

Notwithstanding the disposition which the government exhibited to terminate their labours

1803.

June.

Darstellung, &amp;c.

1803. by negotiation, and the preliminaries which had  
 June. absolutely commenced, the invading army continued to advance; and this determination to take advantage of the forbearance imposed upon the Hanoverians, led at length to an affair of outposts, in which the intruders received a just correction.

About three o'clock in the afternoon of the 2d of June, the advanced vidette of a cavalry piquet of thirty-two men, under the command of lieutenant von Linsingen, which was stationed near the village of Borstel, on the high road between Nienburg and Suhlingen, gave notice that the enemy were advancing. Lieutenant von Linsingen, agreeably to the course which he had been ordered in such a case to adopt, rode forward with a trumpeter bearing a flag of truce, and stated to the officer in command of the enemy's party, "that the French and Hanoverian authorities were already in treaty, and that the conference was likely to terminate in a capitulation on the part of the Hanoverians;" adding a request that the officer in command of the detachment would suspend hostilities until the result of the negotiation had been made known. The French officer replied by taking lieutenant Linsingen and his trumpeter prisoners, and forthwith attacking the Hanoverian piquet, which, deprived of its commander, fell back upon a detachment of the same strength, that was stationed as reserve in the rear, under lieutenant Krauchenberg. This officer, igno-

Narrative  
 of colonel  
 von Linsingen,  
 MSS.

rant of what had passed, but seeing enough to convince him that, as far as the outposts were concerned, it was no affair of diplomacy, quickly drew the united detachments behind a small bridge, and prepared to check the enemy's advance. The French cavalry followed, and their advanced horsemen passed the bridge; but no further indulgence was shewn them by Krauchenberg, who, charging with impetuosity, drove the whole back on their support. The enemy were, however, too strong to admit of this attack being followed up with any chance of success, and, sending a few skirmishers after them, he retained his position. The French now re-assembled, and having brought off their wounded, again tried to force a passage; but in vain. Three several attempts were defeated, and seeing that no opening was likely to be effected by them across this part of the stream, they sent a detachment higher up to seek another passage. Krauchenberg, aware that this could be easily found, and his party thus surrounded, was about to retreat, when the brigade of the ninth and tenth dragoons, with two guns, and a light company of infantry, came up to his support. The Hanoverians now assumed the offensive, and the enemy as quickly commenced their retreat. Krauchenberg followed them to Borstle, where, apprehending an ambushade, he drew off, and returned to his former position, having lost in the whole affair two men killed, and nine men and seventeen horses wounded. The casualties of the enemy could not be ascertained,

1803.

June.

Narrative  
of colonel  
Krauchenberg, MSS.

1803. in consequence of their wounded having been  
June. brought off, but it must have at least equalled that  
of the Hanoverians.

Thus terminated the only collision of military force which attended the entrance of the French army into the electorate; for general von Hammerstein, who commanded the advanced corps, finding that he could not maintain his position beyond the Weser, ordered the troops under his command to retire behind that river; and on the 3d of June the following convention was signed by the Hanoverian deputies, and the French commander at Suhlingen.

Conventi-  
on of  
Suhlingen.

I. The electorate of Hanover, as well as the forts appertaining thereto, shall be occupied by the French army.

II. The Hanoverian troops shall retire behind the Elbe. They will engage themselves, upon word of honour, not to commit any hostility, or bear arms against France or her allies, for so long a time as the war between France and England shall last. They shall not be absolved from this engagement until after having been exchanged for as many general officers, officers, non-commissioned officers, soldiers, or sailors of France, as England may have at her disposition.

III. No individual of the Hanoverian troops shall leave the place in which his residence shall have been appointed, without the knowledge of the general-in-chief.

IV. The Hanoverian army shall retire with the

honours of war. The regiments shall take with them their field-pieces. 1808.  
June..

V. The artillery, powder, arms, and ammunition of all kinds, shall be placed at the disposition of the French army.

VI. All effects whatever, belonging to the King of England, shall be placed at the disposition of the French army.

VII. All the public chests shall be put under sequestration, with the exception of that of the university of Göttingen.

VIII. Every English military person or agent of whatever kind, in the pay of England, shall be arrested by the orders of the general commanding in chief, and sent to France.

IX. The general commanding in chief will reserve to himself the power of making such changes in the government, and other authorities constituted by the elector, as he shall judge fitting.

X. All the French cavalry shall be remounted at the expense of Hanover. The electorate will provide alike for the pay, clothing, and subsistence of the French army.

XI. The worship of different religions shall be maintained upon the same footing on which it is at present established.

XII. All persons, all property, and the families of the Hanoverian officers, shall be placed under the protection of the French.

XIII. All the revenues of the country, as well

1803.  
June. the electoral domains as the public contributions, shall be placed at the disposition of the French government. Previous engagements will be respected.

XIV. The actual government of the electorate will abstain from exercising any kind of authority in the country occupied by the French troops.

XV. The general commanding in chief will levy upon the electorate of Hanover such contributions as he shall deem necessary to supply the wants of the army.

XVI. Any article upon which doubts may arise shall be interpreted favourably to the inhabitants of the electorate.

XVII. The preceding articles shall not prejudice any stipulation which may be made in favour of the electorate between the first consul and any mediating power.

Done at the head quarters at Suhlingen, the (14 *Prairial*, an xi.) 3d June, 1803.

Provided the first consul approves (*Sauf l'approbation du premier consul.*)

(*Signed.*) The lieutenant-general commanding in chief,

ED. MORTIER.

F. VON BREMER, judge of the electoral court of justice and provincial counsellor.

G. VON BOCK, lieutenant-colonel, commanding the regiment of Hanoverian life-guards.



## CHAPTER III.

THE same day on which the convention was signed at Suhlingen, but before its details were known in Hanover, marshal Walmoden left the latter place for Celle, to take the command of the army. In the afternoon of the following day he was joined by colonel von Bock, who delivered to him a copy of the first five and seventeenth articles of the convention.

1803.

June.

Darstel-  
lung, &c.

As these six articles contained all that had any direct reference to the military, it was, perhaps, not material that the remaining ones should be immediately communicated to marshal Walmoden; but allowing him to remain ignorant of the condition added by general Mortier—to proceed with the fulfilment of the convention; uninformed of a clause which completely suspended its validity, was a most unpardonable and altogether unaccountable omission on the part of lieutenant-colonel von Bock, and one which, if it did not absolutely cause the disasters with which the Hanoverian army were soon after overwhelmed, materially hastened their approach.

In the full conviction that a valid document, equally binding upon the two contracting parties, had been signed at Suhlingen, Walmoden

1803. proceeded to comply with the conditions which it  
 June. imposed upon his army. The artillery was given  
 Historische up to French commissaries; orders for the imme-  
 Berechtigungen. diate surrender of Hameln were sent to the officer  
 who commanded that fortress; and so scrupu-  
 lously, both in spirit and in letter, was this conven-  
 tion fulfilled on the part of the Hanoverian govern-  
 ment, that the military stores of Stade and Harburg,  
 which, agreeably to orders given before, but exe-  
 cuted after, the signing of the convention, had abso-  
 lutely arrived in Lauenburg, were, on the reclama-  
 tion of general Frere, returned to the arsenals from  
 whence they had been removed, and the pontoons,  
 on a like demand of general Mortier, were also  
 given up to the French.

Thus deprived of their artillery and pontoons,  
 the stores of two arsenals, and their only fortress,  
 the Hanoverian troops proceeded to comply with  
 that article which stipulated that they should retire  
 behind the Elbe. Their route lay through the town  
 of Lüneburg, and over a great part of that vast  
 uncultivated country which bears its name.\* Here,  
 where money could scarcely supply the wants of an  
 individual traveller, provisions and quarters for fifteen  
 thousand souls, and from eight to nine thousand  
 horses, were immediately required. The new formed  
 magazines could not be made available to this

\* The *Lüneburger Haide* (*Lüneburgh Heath*), which, with the ex-  
 ception of the province of Meppen, is the most desolate part of the  
 Hanoverian dominions.

purpose, for they had been established on the <sup>1803.</sup> Weser and Aller, and both time and means of <sup>June.</sup> transport for their conveyance were wanting ; the <sup>Historische</sup> French, also, laid claim to these stores under the <sup>Berichti-</sup> authority of the convention : the commissariat were, <sup>gungen.</sup> therefore, obliged to depend upon whatever corn and forage the individual *amts* in the vicinity of the line of march might have at hand, and their own personal exertions in forming magazines wherever it was possible to collect supplies.

In a desolate and unfruitful country, this operation would, under the most favourable circumstances, have been attended with difficulty ; but when to the naturally ungenial soil, was added the discontent and disaffection of its possessors, the increase of impediment may well be imagined. Such a feeling had now arisen in the district of Lüneburg. A confused association of the idea, “ arrival of the French,” with that of “ subversion of all order and civil government,” pervaded the minds of the country people ; an insurrectionary spirit was in many places openly exhibited, and the magistrates saw their orders derided, and their personal safety endangered. Abandoned, as a great part of the peasantry believed themselves to be by the army, they no longer acknowledged its claims upon their resources, and upon the only means which they possessed of supplying their own wants, and appeasing the expected demands of a rapacious enemy.

For these reasons it was that whole amt-districts

1803. not only refused delivering to the commissariat the  
 June. supplies which they had at hand, and for which  
 Historische they were offered immediate and liberal payment,  
 Bericht- but in some places took forcible possession, and  
 gungen. prevented the distribution, of those stores which had  
 been already collected for the use of the troops.\*

In such cases no alternative remained but to retake the articles in a similar manner, and thus it became necessary to resort to extremes, rarely called for but in an enemy's country. The difficulties under which the commissariat laboured, were also much increased by the obligation which was imposed on them at the same time to provide for the wants of the army during its march, and to prepare for its reception and abode in Lauenburg. The necessity for this double duty naturally divided their labours, and prevented the troops from immediately experiencing the full benefit of the arrangements that were made; however, the indefatigable zeal of the several officers of this department, and particularly the able and quickly concerted measures of commercial counsellor Heise, prevented either men or horses from suffering any material privation during the whole of the march.

But the cause and general nature of this movement towards the Elbe was too humiliating to the

\* Some of the Lüneburgher *Bauers* are said to have accompanied their resistance to the requisitions, which were made upon them, with the following *naïf* observation, "*Sie wüsstén ja nicht ob Bonaparte es haben wolle.*" You don't know but Bonaparte may want it!

feelings of a brave and loyal soldiery not to be 1803.  
 productive of the most injurious effects upon their June.  
 discipline, and desertion became frequent. Be- Historische  
 lieving that the country was lost, knowing that it Berichti-  
 had been abandoned to the enemy without a strug- gungen.  
 gle, and finding themselves reduced to a state of  
 neutrality, many fancied that they were justified in  
 throwing off their allegiance, and escaping from  
 those duties which seemed so little likely to be  
 attended with credit to themselves or benefit to  
 the country.

According to a preliminary understanding with  
 the French commander, the space of ten days was  
 to be allowed for the troops to effect their passage  
 of the Elbe ; but so desirous was Mortier to gain  
 possession of his easy conquest, that before half  
 that period had elapsed, French detachments ap-  
 peared on the Hanoverian line of march, and the  
 town of Lüneburg was, on the same night, occu-  
 pied by troops of both armies. To such a colli-  
 sion, under all the irritating circumstances con-  
 nected with their retreat, it was desirable that  
 the Hanoverians should not be exposed ; the march,  
 therefore, was precipitated, and its difficulties were  
 consequently increased.

The Elbe was to be crossed at three different  
 points, to which the several regiments now hurried ;  
 but although the greater part of an enormous  
 baggage-train had been shipped at Lüneburg,

1803. and from thence conveyed down the Ilmenau to the  
 June. right bank of the Elbe, the passage of that river  
 Historische was not effected in less than five days, and even  
 Berichti- then several regiments had not yet reached the  
 gungen. army.

On the 9th of June, marshal Walmoden established his head-quarters in the town of Lauenburg, and immediately proceeded to make a suitable disposition of his troops. On the 13th, lieutenant colonel von Bock, who had returned to Hanover for the purpose of superintending all minor details connected with the military, transmitted to him a complete copy of the convention of Suhligen; and this communication, which reached Walmoden on the 14th, first informed him of the clause with which Mortier had qualified his ratification of that document.

On the 15th of June, the French general informed colonel Bock that he had that day received the first consul's ratification of the convention of Suhligen, on the condition that it were also ratified by the king of England, to whom, for that purpose, it had been sent.

This portentous intelligence, which was immediately communicated to marshal Walmoden, gave rise to the most painful apprehensions in the mind of that general, who clearly saw, in this specious conduct of Napoleon, an attempt to invalidate a convention, on the faith of which his army were

already in possession of all the advantages which, under its authority, they were entitled to claim.

1803.

June.

The first consul's conditional assent was communicated by M. de Talleyrand to lord Hawkesbury in the following terms :—

“ MILORD,

“ Après un léger engagement avec les troupes de S. M. britannique, l'armée française occupe le pays d'Hanovre.

“ Le premier consul n'ayant eu en vue que d'obtenir des gages pour l'évacuation de Malte, et de travailler à accomplir l'exécution du traité d'Amiens, n'a point voulu faire éprouver toutes les rigueurs de la guerre aux sujets de S. M. britannique. Cependant, le premier consul ne peut ratifier la convention conclue entre l'armée française et celle de S. M., dont j'ai l'honneur de joindre ici copie, qu'autant qu'elle sera pareillement ratifiée par S. M. britannique, et dans ce cas le premier consul me charge expressément de déclarer qu'il est dans son intention que l'armée du roi d'Angleterre en Hanovre soit d'abord échangée contre tous les matelots ou soldats que les vaisseaux de S. M. ont fait ou sont dans le cas de faire prisonniers.

“ Le premier consul verrait avec peine que S. M. britannique, en refusant de ratifier la dite convention, obligeât le gouvernement français à traiter le pays d'Hanovre avec toute la rigueur de la guerre, et comme un pays qui, livré à lui-même, abandonné

1803. par son souverain, se serait trouvé conquis sans ca-  
 June. pitulation, et laissé à la discretion de la puissance occupante.

“ J’attendrai avec empressement, milord, que vous me fassiez connaître les intentions de S. M. britannique.

“ Recevez, milord, l’assurance de ma plus haute consideration.

“ (Signé) CH. MAU. TALLEYRAND.”

Narrative  
 of Sir L.  
 Möller,  
 MSS.

When this letter reached London, transports for the conveyance of the Hanoverian army to England lay ready at the Nore, and were to have sailed for the Elbe on the 13th or 14th inst., but anxious as was the king that their destination should be fulfilled, and indignant as the paternal monarch could not but feel on being informed of the humiliating conditions to which his brave Hanoverian troops had been subjected, his majesty was led to believe that a faithful observance of the terms of the convention would, however justifiably they might be resisted, now best serve the general interests of the electorate: the sailing of the transports was consequently countermanded, and the following reply to the communication of M. de Talleyrand despatched by his majesty’s commands on the 15th inst.

“ SIR,

Downing-street, June 15th.

“ I have laid before the king your letter of the 10th instant.



“ I am commanded by his majesty to inform you 1803.  
that as he has always considered his character of June.  
elector of Hanover as distinct from his character of  
king of the united kingdom of Great Britain and  
Ireland he never can consent to acquiesce in any  
proceeding by which he shall sanction the idea that  
he is liable in justice to be attacked in the one  
capacity, for the line of conduct which he may have  
felt it to have been his duty to adopt in the  
other.

“ This principle is not now advanced for the first  
time ; it has been recognized by most of the powers  
of Europe, and by none more particularly than by  
the French government, who, in the year 1795, in  
consequence of his having acceded to the treaty of  
Basle, acknowledged the neutrality of his majesty  
in his capacity of elector of Hanover, at a time  
when they were engaged in a war with him as king  
of Great Britain.

“ It has been further confirmed by the conduct of  
his majesty on the occasion of the treaty of Lune-  
ville, and by the arrangements which have lately  
taken place relative to the German indemnities, and  
to the constitution of the empire, which have been  
solely guaranteed by some of the principal powers  
of Europe, but to which his majesty, as king of  
Great Britain, was no party. Under these circum-  
stances, his majesty has determined, in his charac-  
ter of elector of Hanover, to appeal to the empire,  
and to those powers of Europe who have guaran-

1803. teed the Germanic constitution, and thereby his  
June. rights and possessions as a prince of that empire.

“ Until his majesty shall be informed of their sentiments, he has commanded me to say, that in his character of elector of Hanover, *he will scrupulously abstain from doing any act which can be considered as being in contravention to the stipulations contained in the convention that was concluded on the 3d of June, between the deputies appointed by the regency of Hanover and the French government.*

“ I desire you to accept the assurances of the high consideration with which

“ I have the honour to be, &c. &c.

“ HAWKESBURY.”

But this reply did not correspond with the expectations of the first consul, who, doubtless, calculated upon his majesty's unqualified refusal to sanction the convention of Suhlingen, and, consequently, upon being provided with a pretext for declaring it invalid ; he, therefore, had recourse to the expedient of misinterpreting the expressions contained in lord Hawkesbury's reply, and general Mortier, having previously put his troops in motion for the Elbe, made requisitions of boats, and commenced planting batteries on that river, thus proclaimed this new ground of proceeding.

“ EDOUARD MORTIER, lieutenant-general, &c. 1803.  
 à son excellence M. le feld-maréchal comte de June.  
 WALMODEN, &c. Darstel-  
 lung, &c.

“ Armée d' Hanovre, au quartier général à Lüneburg,  
 “ le 11 messidor, an 11 de la republique Française.

“ MONSIEUR LE MARÉCHAL,

“ J'ai eu l'honneur de prévenir votre excellence, que le premier consul approuverait dans son entier la convention de Suhlingen si le roi d' Angleterre consentait lui-même à la ratifier. Il m'est donc pénible d'avoir à vous apprendre que lord Hawkesbury a fait connoître au citoyen Talleyrand, ministre des relations extérieures, que sa majesté britannique *se refusait formellement à cette ratification.*

“ Votre excellence se rappelera qu'en 1757 pareille convention fut conclue à Kloster Zeven, entre M. de Richelieu et le duc de Cumberland ; le roi d' Angleterre n'ayant pas voulu y adhérer, donna l'ordre à son armée de recommencer les hostilités.\*

“ C'est pour éviter le renouvellement des scènes qui eurent lieu alors, que mon gouvernement me charge de prévenir votre excellence que le refus de sa majesté britannique rendait nulle la convention de Suhlingen.

\* This was not a parallel case ; for the duke of Cumberland's army was composed of troops in the pay of *England*, under the command of an *English* general.

1803. " Il est évident, M. le maréchal, que l'Angleterre  
 June. sacrifie indignement vos troupes, dont la bravoure  
 est reconnue de l'Europe entière ; mais il n'est pas  
 moins que tout projet de défense de votre part  
 serait illusoire, et ne ferait qu'attirer de nouveaux  
 malheurs sur votre pays.

" Je charge le général Berthier, chef de l'état  
 major général, de vous faire part de mes proposi-  
 tions ; je dois insister pour que votre excellence  
 veuille bien me faire dans les vingt-quatre heures  
 une réponse catégorique.

" L'armée que j'ai l'honneur de commander, est  
 prête et n'attend que le signal du combat.

" Veuillez, M. le Maréchal, recevoir l'assurance  
 de ma considération distinguée.

" ED. MORTIER."

It is almost unnecessary to observe upon the  
 misrepresentation which this letter contained ;  
 but if any doubt could reasonably have existed as  
 to the nature of the king's intentions respecting  
 the convention of Suhlingen, his majesty's express  
 orders that the terms of that convention should be  
 strictly observed on the part of the Hanoverian  
 army, which orders were, immediately after the  
 departure of lord Hawkesbury's reply, transmitted  
 to marshal Walmoden and the ministry in Lauen-  
 burg, sufficiently proved the false and unworthy  
 light in which the crooked policy of the French

usurper had placed the upright intentions of the British monarch. 1803.  
June.

General Berthier, who was the bearer of the above communication, submitted to marshal Walmoden at the same time the following programme for a new convention. Darstellung, &c.

I. The Hanoverian army shall repass the Elbe, lay down their arms, and proceed to France ; they shall retain their baggage, and the officers their swords. The latter shall be allowed to retire into any part of the continent, but not to England.

II. The Hanoverian army shall march past with all the honours of war ; provisions shall be secured for the troops, and carriages for the baggage.

III. The capitulation shall not be submitted to the ratification of the two governments.

A deputation from the electoral provinces (Messrs. von Lenthe and Wangenheim) had already prepared marshal Walmoden for the appearance of such conditions as this document contained ; and having, at the same time, in the name of their whole body, energetically besought him to employ every means of averting the total ruin with which the country was threatened, he felt that he could not, with due regard to the sentiments of the representative body, send a specific reply without first taking the opinion of the general officers of his own army on the new terms, to which he was called upon to consent. He, therefore, answered general Mortier's letter to that effect ; but at once stated, verbally, to

1803. the bearer of the communication, that he would  

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June. never consent to the troops being taken to  
Darstel- France; with which assurance general Berthier  
lung, &c. departed.

Twenty-four hours were given to marshal Walmoden to send in a categorical reply, and in the mean time head-quarters having been removed to Gülzow, he requested that the generals of his army would assemble at that village on the morning of the 31st.

Mortier's communications having been laid before this body, its demands were, without a dissentient voice, declared inadmissible; and Walmoden now gladly beheld his line of conduct simplified to the employment of those vigorous and decided measures which had been long and anxiously desired by his troops.

The position occupied by the Hanoverian army in Lauenburg possessed great natural advantages. The broad Elbe, overhung by steep and commanding heights, defended the front; the rivers Stecknitz and Bille ran along the flanks; and these were further protected, on the one side by the neutral territory of Mecklenburg, and on the other by those of Hamburg and Denmark.

With a corps of thirty thousand men, this position could doubtless have been made most formidable; but the small number and impaired condition of the Hanoverian army rendered them unable to derive the full benefit of its locality. The effec-

tive force now under the command of the marshal, consisted of two thousand sabres, seven thousand bayonets, fifty three-pounder amusettes, being the regimental guns, and a few howitzers, which, as *pièces d'honneur*, the French general had allowed him to retain. For the service of this force only two days' ammunition was at hand, and any stores which might by possibility have been obtained from Hamburg and Lübeck, could not arrive in time to supply the immediate deficiency which hostilities protracted beyond that period would necessarily cause.

Although so defective in artillery and ammunition, the inferiority in number of Walmoden's force as compared with that of his opponent, was not considerable. Mortier had not, it has been generally believed, more than twelve or thirteen thousand men under his command; but then the French general had adroitly possessed himself of the means of conveying these troops to the opposite side of the Elbe; he was also far superior in artillery, and an army of reserve, under general Dessoles, was reported to be in march to his assistance.

Still the result of the council of war was received throughout the army with general feelings of satisfaction, and the contest which appeared now inevitable was anxiously but fearlessly awaited.

These expectations were, however, soon destroyed; for before colonel von Bock had com-

1803.

July.

Historische  
Berichti-  
gungen.

1803. municated to general Mortier the decision of the  
 July. council of war, less humiliating terms were pro-  
 posed to Walmoden, through the medium of the  
 deputies von Lenthe and Wangenheim; on the  
 morning of the 3d these were again modified, and  
 the following conditions were finally forwarded to  
 the Hanoverian head-quarters by lieutenant-colonel  
 von Bock, as those on which general Mortier pro-  
 posed to conclude a new convention.

Darstel-  
 lung, &c.

I. The troops shall lay down their arms on this side the Elbe, at a place that shall be hereafter fixed upon.

II. The cavalry shall give up their horses to one or more deputies of Hanover, furnished with all the necessary power.

III. Colonels of regiments shall provide their troops with furloughs for one year.

IV. The soldiers shall return home, but not wear their uniform.

V. The regiments shall pass the Elbe, and move from thence in such a manner as not to meet the French troops in march.

VI. The officers and soldiers shall preserve their effects and baggage, and the former their swords.

VII. The support of the officers without fortune shall be attended to. (*L'on soignera l'entretien des officiers sans fortune.*)

Although much more favourable than either of the preceding propositions, more so indeed than those that were eventually acceded to, the dissolu-



tion of the Hanoverian army still forming the basis of the demand, Walmoden persisted in refusing assent to any terms of which this condition formed a part. He, therefore, answered general Mortier to that effect ; but wishing, at the same time, to shew his willingness to meet the views of the French general, suggested to him the sufficient security which the return home of those men who had lately been called in, the delivering of hostages, or other individual and definite security, would give to his government, without the total dismemberment of the Hanoverian army.

1803.

July.

Darstellung, &amp;c.

Either this reply was not considered by general Mortier sufficiently explicit, or the French commander was willing to give marshal Walmoden more time to consider the subject ; for colonel von Bock, to whom the letter was entrusted, had already been some time absent, when a French officer, bearing a flag of truce, appeared at the outposts, and having been conducted to the Hanoverian head-quarters, laid the following note before marshal Walmoden.

“ Quartier-general à Lüneburg le 14 Messidor an 11 (3d July, 1803.)

“ Le lieutenant-général Mortier a l'honneur de saluer le maréchal de Walmoden. Il le prie de vouloir bien lui faire connoître si son excellence a pris une décision relativement aux dernières propositions, qu'il a eu l'honneur de lui communiquer.

1803. "Le general Mortier prie Mons. le Maréchal de  
 July. recevoir," &c.

To this Walmoden briefly replied by referring general Mortier to his last letter, adding, that it was impossible for him to accept, without some alteration, the conditions which had been proposed, both his reasons and regret at which, he thought he had fully explained in his reply.

Historische  
 Berichti-  
 gungen.

A crisis in the negotiation appeared now to have again arrived, and the departure of the French officer who was the bearer of the last note, produced a general conviction in the Hanoverian army that the following day would open upon a desperate conflict. Marshal Walmoden shared in this opinion, and accordingly gave orders that the head-quarter baggage should be ready to move off, and his own horses to be mounted at an hour's notice ; he recommended his officers to take a few hours' rest in their clothes, and laid down himself alike prepared to answer the demands upon his exertions which an attack of the enemy would, he fully expected, soon render necessary.

1803.

July.

## CHAPTER IV.

BUT an unlooked-for event soon destroyed this anticipation.

Historische  
Bericht-  
ungen.

The probable proximity of the attack requiring an early preparation of the troops, the heavy cavalry brigade, consisting of the life-guards, garde-du-corps, and second heavy dragoons, who were encamped near Lauenburg, was, at midnight, ordered to saddle. No sooner had this order been pronounced, when suddenly from one end of the brigade to the other was heard the pass-word\* of, "the troops will not saddle!" (*Es soll nicht aufgesattelt werden.*) The officers, thinking it prudent to appear at first unconscious of this symptom of insubordination, simply exhibited astonishment at the order being so slowly complied with, and succeeded in making the few individual men whom they met, proceed, at least apparently, to the fulfilment of their duty. By degrees, however, the mutineers assembled in large bodies, in the middle of which, the most hardy, their persons being concealed by the darkness of the night, gave vent to their feelings in unequivocal terms, and openly

\* The order to saddle is given in the words "*Es soll aufgesattelt werden.*"

1803. declared "that no further duty ought to be done  
 July. until it was known for whom they were really  
 Historische to fight and have their bones broken—why the  
 Berichti- country had been abandoned, and the army shut  
 gungen. up in a corner, where, sooner or later, they must  
 be in one way or other destroyed;—who, since the  
 whole income of the country was in the enemy's  
 power, would pay their pensions to those soldiers  
 who might become crippled in the approaching  
 battle: finally, until it was known whether the  
 soldiers from whom the exertions of war for no kind  
 of purpose were required, would be given, at least,  
 their full war allowances, and not be suffered to  
 starve upon their scanty peace allowances under  
 the sweat of their brows and the loss of their blood."

With these and similar expressions were the officers assailed, who mixed among the insurgents, and by threats, exhortations, prayers, and promises, endeavoured to calm their irritation and bring them back to their duty. These efforts had been partially successful, and the garde-du-corps had nearly all complied with the order to saddle, when a new subject of complaint brought the former angry feeling into action with an increased impulse.

A few men of the second cavalry regiment had, at the beginning of the disturbance, gone to the left of the brigade, where the life-guards were encamped, and endeavoured to kindle, as zealously as the officers laboured to extinguish in that regiment, the flame of insubordination. Observing

their efforts, and the injury which they were effecting, 1803.  
 cornet Jansen, a high-spirited young officer of the July.  
 life-guards, went up to them, and demanded what Historische  
 their business was with that regiment at so late an Berichti-  
 hour. The men made no reply, but endeavoured gungen.  
 to escape, upon which Jansen cut at them with his  
 sword, and wounded three of the party sufficiently  
 to make evident to their comrades the chastisement  
 which they had undergone.

Exaggerating these appearances, the men of the second regiment now became furious, and cried out for revenge upon the officers of the life-guards. In vain did the most resolute of their superiors endeavour to counteract this design; in vain did they succeed in drawing off a few of the more tractable from the mass and making them return to their tents; the threats and imprecations of their comrades soon changed their good intentions, and in a few minutes more than two hundred men, armed with their swords and threatening the most violent proceedings, had assembled. Before, however, any further step towards the excesses to which these manifestations appeared likely to lead, had been taken by the mutineers, the powerful remonstrances of their respected colonel, von Dzierzianowsky, succeeded in subduing their rage, and thus prevented a scene which would probably have led to the most fatal consequences.

But although the personal exertions of this zealous officer defeated the intentions of his

1803. misguided corps, they were insufficient to check  
July. the general spirit of discontent which an exaggerated  
Historische report of the cause of the excitement had spread  
Berichti- throughout the camp. Major general du Plat, who  
gungen. commanded the left wing, accompanied by colonel  
the prince of Schwartzburg, now arrived on the  
spot. By this time an outward appearance of quiet  
had been assumed, and a squadron of the life-  
guards marched, by the general's order, to the  
relief of an outpost; a gloomy, stubborn, and mu-  
tinuous spirit was, however, still perceptible, and  
in this state Walmoden found the three regiments  
whose reported insubordination caused him to  
appear before them about day-break on the morning  
of the 4th.

The field-marshal addressed the brigade with all  
the energy with which a painful consciousness of  
the disgraceful nature of their conduct, and of the  
pressing danger of the moment, inspired him. He  
promised them an investigation into their complaint  
if it was properly brought forward, and satisfaction,  
if it proved to be well founded. He reminded  
them of the fame which they had earned in former  
wars—stated to them the probability of being im-  
mediately attacked—and, finally, demanded of them  
whether they would fight or surrender as prisoners  
of war. A gloomy silence followed this appeal,  
and the outward demeanour of those to whom it  
was addressed, showed too clearly how ineffective  
it had proved. A report now reached the marshal

that the enemy were about to cross the Elbe at Artlenburg. This, which afterwards proved to be a false alarm, could not but augment the difficulties with which events, already embarrassing, had surrounded him; he, therefore, resolved again to summon a meeting of the generals of his army, and to submit to them the expediency of assenting to the modified terms which Mortier had last proposed.

1803.

July.

Historische  
Bericht-  
gungen.

Before, however, Walmoden left the camp, some individual soldiers of the disaffected regiments hurried after him and expressed their contrition and readiness to return to their duty, and soon after a field officer and a captain of the second regiment officially reported to him that that regiment awaited his orders to turn out and oppose the enemy;\* but the marshal's confidence in his army had been shaken; he feared that the mutinous spirit which had been yet but partially exhibited might prove contagious and become general; that a knowledge of the late commotion might reach the French headquarters, and lead to demands still harder than those which had been yet put forward, and which the disorganized state of his army might render him unable to resist;—in fine, perplexed, disheartened, and despairing of that re-establishment of discipline and good spirit among his troops, upon which he could alone depend for success in the unequal con-

\* Allg. Litt. Zeitung, Februar. 1804, No. 57, p. 455. Minerva, November, 1803, p. 325.

1808. test with which he was threatened, he did not allow  
 July. himself to be influenced by the symptoms of return-  
 Historische ing order which the disaffected regiments now  
 Berichti- exhibited, but retained his intention of summoning  
 gungen. another council of war, and again submitting the  
 guidance of his conduct to the generals of his army.

These officers accordingly assembled at Haide-  
 krug about five o'clock in the afternoon, and the  
 conditions on which Mortier had last proposed to  
 treat having been laid before them, they declared  
 themselves unanimously of opinion that, " provided  
 the proposed conditions were observed, and no  
 worse substituted, his excellency might conclude a  
 convention with the French general."

Appendix,  
 No. II.

Supported by this opinion, which was formally  
 drawn up and signed, Walmoden addressed a note  
 to Mortier early on the following morning, accepting  
 the terms which had been last offered, and request-  
 ing permission to send an officer of his staff to  
 concert the necessary details with the French ge-  
 neral. Mortier replied by expressing his readiness  
 to comply with the marshal's request, but subse-  
 quently proposed that the details should be arranged  
 by Walmoden and himself on the Elbe, which was  
 acceded to, and a boat having been moored in the  
 river for the purpose, the conference was fixed for  
 the same afternoon.

Darstel-  
 lung, &c.

The fates seemed, however, opposed to this  
 finishing stroke of the French general; for just as  
 he left the Hanoverian shore, a squall of wind



sprang up, and the little sail-boat in which he had embarked, being badly managed, was in imminent danger. Another accidental circumstance threatened still more the personal safety of the general. On the departure of the boat from Artlenburg, the French had omitted to make the usual signal of a flag of truce, and the officer who commanded the Hanoverian artillery on the opposite bank had not been informed of the approaching conference. Seeing, therefore, a vessel in full sail making for the right bank, with an enemy's crew on board, the officer considered that he would be only acting in obedience to his orders by firing upon the apparent invader. He accordingly directed a gun upon the vessel and fired two shots, one of which is said to have hit the bark without doing much injury. This salutation was now about to be strengthened by a charge of grape, when a staff officer galloped up and arrested the fire by communicating the pacific state of affairs.

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Historische  
Berichti-  
gungen.

Thus escaping from the perils of two elements, Mortier reached the boat, and the two commanders proceeded to draw up the details of the new convention.

This document, which has been respectively called the Elbe, Artlenburg, and Lanenburg convention, was thus worded.

“ The king of England having refused to ratify the convention of Suhlingen, the French consul feels himself obliged to consider that convention

Elbe Con-  
vention.

1803. as not having been concluded. Lieutenant-general  
July. Mortier, commanding in chief the French army, and his excellency the count Walmoden, commanding in chief the Hanoverian army, have consequently agreed upon the following capitulation, which shall be immediately put in execution, without being submitted to the ratification of the two governments.

“ Art. I. The Hanoverian army shall lay down their arms, which shall be given up, together with all their artillery, to the French army.

“ II. All the Hanoverian cavalry horses, together with those of the artillery, shall be given up to the French army by one of the members of the government. A commission nominated by the general in chief shall be immediately sent to make the necessary arrangements for this purpose.

“ III. The Hanoverian army shall be disbanded; the troops shall pass the Elbe and return to their homes; they shall bind themselves by word of honour not to bear arms against France and her allies until after they shall have been exchanged by as many French military of equal rank, as may be taken prisoners by the English in the course of the war.

“ IV. The Hanoverian generals and officers shall retire upon parole to those places which they may select for their residences, provided that they do not leave the continent. They shall keep their swords, and take with them their horses, effects, and baggage.

" V. A nominative control over all the individuals which compose the Hanoverian army shall be given to the general commanding the French army with the least delay. 1803.  
July.

" VI. The Hanoverian soldiers sent to their homes shall not wear uniform.

" VII. Subsistence shall be issued to the Hanoverian troops until their arrival at home. In like manner forage for the officers' horses shall be also allowed.

" VIII. The sixteenth and seventeenth articles of the convention of Suhlingen\* shall be applicable to the Hanoverian army.

" IX. The French troops shall immediately occupy that part of the electorate of Hanover situated in the province of Lauenburg.

" Done in duplicate on the Elbe, this sixteenth Messidor, year eleven of the French republic (5th of July, 1803.)

" The lieutenant-general commanding the French army in chief,

" Signed. { ED. MORTIER.  
Marshal count von WALMODEN."

Owing to the hurry of the moment and the variety of details to be entered into, many stipulations which a regard for the future welfare of the Hanoverian army would naturally have dictated to marshal Walmoden, were either settled verbally, or altogether omitted. Among others, that which

Historische  
Berichti-  
gungen.

\* See page 30.

1803. provided for the future subsistence of the officers  
July. and soldiers was unfortunately entrusted to the former mode of adjustment, and the advantage afterwards taken by the enemy of this inadvertency, in withholding or deferring the payment of the promised subsistence, placed many individuals in circumstances at once unexpected and distressing.

The mutinous conduct of the three cavalry regiments having been the immediate cause of marshal Walmoden taking the opinions of his generals on the expediency of submitting to the conditions upon which this convention was founded, it seems fitting that we should here inquire into the motives which led to so violent and open a demonstration of indiscipline and disloyalty.

Fairly to effect this object, it will be necessary to bring under review the general condition and temper of the army from the period of its arrival in the province of Lauenburg until the fatal morning of the 4th July.

It has been stated that the march of the army towards the Elbe was attended with considerable desertion. That this breach of faith with their country and the discontented feeling which led to it should have become more general among the troops after they had crossed that river, may well be imagined. Banished from their homes and families without having been allowed to make one effort to avert that condition—forced to leave all that they held most dear to the doubtful protection

of a lawless enemy—shut up in a corner of the land from whence they could only be liberated by gallant exploits in which they were themselves denied a participation, it cannot be a matter for surprise that discontent and despondency should have taken strong possession of their minds. The long existing laxity in discipline had also engendered among them a habit of criticising and censuring the orders of their superiors; and the fatigues and inconveniences consequent upon their present situation, which were, perhaps, sometimes unnecessarily though unintentionally increased, gave frequent occasion to such comments. To all these causes of dissatisfaction was added that contained in the regulation respecting their pay and allowances, which were not, as they expected, placed upon the war establishment; and so far did the perverseness produced by this latter cause of complaint carry them, that although the commissariat had provided amply for the wants of the army and offered provisions to the men at the first cost, they preferred buying in the neighbouring towns and villages at double the price charged by the commissariat, articles which they conceived ought to have been furnished to them gratis.

The forage was also deficient both in quality and quantity. The horses were altogether deprived of straw; the ration of hay was reduced to three pounds per diem; and although that of oats was at the same time increased to ten pounds, the quality of

1803.

July.

Historische  
Berichti-  
gungen.

1803. the corn was so indifferent as to render it no equivalent for the reduction in the former article. The  
 July. cavalry horses were consequently thrown out of the  
 Historische Berichtigungen. good condition in which they had previously been, and for the preservation of which the German dragoon is so justly celebrated, and the spirit of the rider sank with the condition of the animal, on whose powers his own efficiency in the day of battle depended.

The elements themselves appeared to be in league against the soldiers' constancy. Cold and rainy weather, unnatural to the time of year, had followed the encampment of the troops, and this they the more severely felt in consequence of the meagre supply of blankets which had been issued to them, and the impossibility of obtaining even the substitute of straw.

Exemplary as was the conduct of the officers in general during this trying period, some imprudent individuals of that body were unguarded enough to allow themselves a freedom of expression respecting the convention of Suhlingen, and the present humbled condition of the troops, which could not fail to increase the irritation of minds already too well disposed to receive exciting impressions; and their open abuse of those authorities to whose measures they considered the late convention chargeable, no doubt fed that suppressed spirit of revolt which at last exploded.

The general discontent of the army was first ex-

pressed by numerous and frequent desertions. 1833.  
 These occurred both in the infantry and cavalry, July.  
 some regiments losing more than a hundred men in Historische  
 the space of three weeks ; nor was, as is commonly Berichti-  
 the case, this loss confined to the idle and disorderly, but the choicest, best conducted, and most gungen.  
 confidential soldiers left their ranks.

The local position of the three heavy cavalry regiments peculiarly exposed them to the impression thus general throughout the army. Encamped between the towns of Lauenburg and Glüsing, where the greatest body of troops was united, and in more direct communication with their native provinces than the other regiments, they became early acquainted with the various dispiriting reports and lamentations which the friends and kindred of the soldiers daily spread among them. The citizens of Lauenburg, also, with whom these regiments had frequent intercourse, and who felt themselves oppressed by the unaccustomed burthen of their presence, spared no exertions to seduce them from their duty. However, the result of the council of war of the 1st of July, when Mortier's demand that the army should surrender and be marched to France was positively rejected, was hailed by these regiments with the same satisfaction, good spirit, and anxious desire to regain, by a contest, that position from which the late convention had thrown them, as animated the rest of the troops ; but the communication made

1803. by the deputies on the 2d,—that of the French  
 July. general on the following day—the distorted and  
 Historische exaggerated manner in which intelligence of these  
 Berichti- varied propositions reached them,—and, finally,  
 gungen. the doubt and perplexity in which the whole  
 proceeding appeared to be enveloped—caused  
 their former feelings to return in aggravated  
 force.

On the 1st of July, for instance, the troops were informed that the enemy required they should proceed to France as prisoners of war. The thought of this was most appalling to them. Many veterans knew, by sad experience, the miseries which such a condition involved, and pictured them to their uninitiated comrades, who in consequence burned with the desire of revenging themselves upon the enemy, and hesitated not to encounter death rather than submit to demands attended with such frightful results. But on the following day this excitement was at an end. Even before the new terms then offered were made known to the troops, it had been falsely reported among them that the *officers only* would be required as prisoners. Hence arose a belief that they were called upon to fight merely for the honour of their superiors; and when on the 2d the certain information reached them, that no prisoners of war whatever were required by the enemy, they began altogether to doubt whether this condition had been ever proposed, and to suspect that it had been



mentioned for the sole purpose of urging them to a contest in which the honour of their superiors was alone concerned.

1803.  
July.  
Historische  
Bericht-  
ungen.

The soldier, also, could not reconcile it to his simple notions of consistency, that no effort to defend the country had been made at Suhlingen, and that now, when the prospects of success had been so much diminished, a desperate engagement was to be fought, which, in all probability, would leave both the country and the army abandoned to the devastating consequences of an unsuccessful contest.

That these various and just causes of dissatisfaction, suffered to take root and become entwined in the minds of troops over whom the strictness of military discipline had been long relinquished, should have kindled the flame of mutiny, and led at length to its bursting forth in an act of open resistance to authority, cannot be a matter of surprise; and the same reasons forbid us to make it a subject of censure.

The conduct of marshal Walmoden both previous to and during the eventful period of the French invasion of Hanover, has called forth much and severe animadversion. The reduction of the army has been attributed to his influence, and its inefficiency to his inertness; his advocacy of resistance has been pronounced insincere; military talent has been denied him; a predetermined

1803. intention to avoid all hostilities has been, laid to  
July. his charge, and even his personal courage has been questioned.

As in, perhaps, all cases of unqualified and wide-extended censure, these imputations contain much of untruth and exaggeration. So far from the inefficient state of the Hanoverian army being attributable to the influence or inertness of Walmoden, it is a well attested fact, that, long previous to the period now under consideration, he submitted to his majesty a plan for the entire reorganization of that army, as the only means of restoring it to an effective condition; and at the same time, feeling himself, it is to be presumed, too old\* and infirm for so arduous a situation, proposed to resign the command of the army in favour of his royal highness the duke of Cambridge.

But the interference of baron von Lenthe prevented the first part of the proposed arrangement from being carried into execution, and his majesty being at the same time unwilling that his royal highness should be yet engaged in the labours of public business, the marshal still continued to discharge the duties of commander-in-chief.

Of the nature of Walmoden's views and intentions respecting the defence of the electorate, the letters which have been already quoted furnish the best developement. His anxiety that bold, effec-

\* Walmoden was then upwards of sixty.

tive, and decided measures should be adopted immediately upon the first intimation of impending danger, is there clearly evinced, as well as his undisguised condemnation of the temporizing policy exhibited by the Hanoverian ministers.

1803.

July.

That, after his strenuous efforts to infuse vigour into their councils, to point out the resources of the country, and to shew the inadequacy of the means with which he had been provided, had been unproductive of good effect; after his zeal had been discouraged, and his exertions neutralized, and when he found himself left at last with an army which he felt convinced was unequal to fulfil the task that was likely to be required of it;—that under these circumstances Walmoden should have voluntarily continued in his command, may, perhaps, be a matter of surprise; but his doing so can be alone ascribed to the high sense of public duty with which he was impressed; and unfitted as his advanced age and limited military experience may have rendered him for the critical situation into which he was suddenly thrown, upright, conscientious, and truly patriotic motives cannot fairly be denied him.

The evident desire to effect the peace of the electorate by amicable means, which so strongly marked his proceedings after the French had passed the Hanoverian frontier, has probably

1803. led to the imputations upon his personal courage ;  
July. but this charge appears to be entirely without foundation. For many years the Hanoverian ambassador at Vienna, the marshal's experience had been more in diplomatic than in military transactions ; extreme caution, also, was a conspicuous feature in his character, and this quality, increasing with age, tended to produce in him an indecision of purpose which rendered him totally unequal to meet the rapid succession of unfavourable events which followed the march of the French army ; but his uniformly gallant conduct during the campaigns of 1793-95 in Holland, where he commanded a corps of Hanoverian troops, and, after the departure of the duke of York, the whole Anglo-Hanoverian army, places his personal courage beyond all question.

Controuled by the restrictions of the ministry—limited in his sphere of action to passive measures of defence — expressly prohibited from giving "*umbrage*" to the enemy, and being himself strongly impressed with the conviction that the general welfare of the country, and not the particular interests of the army, should be his paramount consideration, he adopted that course which under the circumstances he conceived best calculated to attain this object. That his dependance upon conciliatory measures led him into an extreme of forbearance which raised the hopes and increased the

demands of the enemy in proportion as his system became developed, the facts which have been recorded too clearly testify. What might not an opposite course have effected? It has been generally allowed that the first engagement with the French advanced corps must have terminated favourably to the Hanoverians; Mortier himself admitted the probability of such a result—and to what important consequences might not so propitious a commencement have led? The French general boasted, certainly, of his “army of reserve,” and endeavoured to shew how fruitless any success that might attend the first efforts of the Hanoverian arms would be rendered by the superior numbers which would ultimately be opposed to them: but this vaunted reserve proved, on its arrival, to be an ill-clothed, worse-appointed, and undisciplined band of conscripts, without artillery, cavalry, or magazines! The probable increase of the Hanoverian army is also to be considered—every day brought new levies to its ranks; and, unwillingly as many individuals might have left their homes and families when the unchecked progress of the French seemed to prefix the stamp of hopelessness to a cause in support of which the hazard of their lives was required,—one successful action, one reasonable prospect of the invaders being driven back, would doubtless have reconciled them to the demand on their exertions; and instead of the gloom and dissatisfaction which every where prevailed,

1803.

July.

Allg. Lit.  
Zeitung.  
No. 55.  
1804.

1803. the tide of public opinion might have so turned in  
July. favour of resistance, as to have supplied the army  
with zealous volunteers in place of discontented  
conscripts.

Thus encouraged to maintain the neutrality of the north of Germany, Prussia could no longer have stood by a passive observer of its violation, but complying with the request of the Hanoverian government, would doubtless have hastened to its assistance, and vigorously supported the further operations of those troops whose first effort offered so fair a prospect of ultimate success: England would soon have added the strong arms of her naval and military force, and instead of upholding the cause of freedom through the long struggle of the peninsular war, would have encountered the usurper in a more friendly territory;—then might that land, where Varro's veteran legions yielded to the patriotic bands of Armin, have been also distinguished by the baffled efforts of ambitious France, and the first step towards the liberation of Europe.

## CHAPTER V.

WHILE the eventful incidents which have been detailed were passing in Lauenburg, the greatest anxiety concerning the fate of his Hanoverian soldiers reigned in the breast of their affectionate sovereign.

1803.

July.

It has been shewn how, dissatisfied as was the king with the convention of Suhlingen, and the tame submission of the electoral ministry to the demands of the invader, his majesty, believing that a faithful observance of the conditions which had been imposed upon the troops by the convention would now best serve the interests of the electorate, had authorized lord Hawkesbury to state, that "until informed of the sentiments of the empire and those powers of Europe who guaranteed the Germanic confederation, his majesty, as elector of Hanover, would scrupulously abstain from doing any act which could be considered as being in contravention to the stipulations contained in the convention of Suhlingen;" and that the king had, in accordance with these sentiments, issued express orders that the convention should be strictly observed on the part of the Hanoverian army, and had consequently countermanded the transports which were

1803. intended for the conveyance of that army to England.

July. When, however, on the 8th of July, intelligence had reached London that Mortier had put his troops in motion for the Elbe, and, violating the convention in virtue of which he had secured most important advantages, now put forth new and most unwarrantable demands; the former design of removing the army to England again became an object of royal solicitude.

His majesty's wishes were anticipated by an active member of the Hanoverian diplomatic body in London. Mr. Lewis Moeller, secretary to the department,\* who was to have accompanied the transports to the Elbe in the first instance, and had remained keenly watching the progress of events, saw at once the importance of the present moment; and repairing to Windsor on the evening of the 9th, requested that he might be permitted to proceed on his original mission, and endeavour to effect the embarkation of the troops.

The king entered with much warmth into the views and feelings of his zealous servant, and provided him on the following day with a requisition to the admiralty for the necessary number of transports. In anticipation of the king's approval, the secretary had prepared a short proclamation to authorize the removal of the troops, which his majesty readily signed, declaring, with much satisfaction,

\* Now Sir Lewis Moeller, K.C.H. privy counsellor of legation, and secretary to the royal Hanoverian Guelphic order.



“ that it was the only document unauthenticated by the counter-signature of the minister, to which he had ever subscribed.” 1803.  
July.

Thus all things seemed favourable to the execution of the plan ; but scarce had its details been entered into, when accounts from Lauenburg threw doubts over its fulfilment : soon came the mortifying intelligence that a second convention had been concluded between the French and Hanoverian armies. This destroyed the operation altogether, and the transports were again and finally countermanded.

Moeller's exertions in the cause of his countrymen were not, however, on that account discontinued. Some vessels had been appointed to convey to England the electoral stud and other property of his majesty, which had been removed for safety to Mecklenburg, and with these he conceived the design of embarking. In this province he felt sure of meeting with many officers and soldiers of the disbanded army, whose future prospects he hoped, by means of the king's proclamation, and his own personal assurance of the royal sentiments, to place before them in a more cheering light, and thus direct their steps towards England. His majesty assented to the departure of the secretary, as also to the issuing of an order from the admiralty, which he had suggested, authorizing all British vessels cruising off the German coast, to take on board and convey to England any Hanoverian officers, non-commissioned officers, or men, who might solicit

1803. that indulgence. This was immediately forwarded,  
 July. and having been acted upon without delay, materially aided the emigration of the troops.

Provided with his majesty's proclamation, Mr. Moeller sailed from the Nore on the 19th of July, and on arriving in Mecklenburg had the gratification to find that his hopes had been well founded: many officers would immediately have embarked with him for England, but considered, on reflection, that by secretly disseminating the cheering intelligence of which he was the bearer, they would best promote an object in the success of which they were so deeply interested.

Narrative  
 of colonel  
 von der  
 Decken.  
 MSS.

Meantime lieutenant-colonel von der Decken, who, on a visit to England in April, had been given reason to suppose that he would be empowered to raise a corps of foreign troops for the English service, had been officially established at the head of a recruiting department in London, with authority to raise a corps of foreigners not exceeding four thousand men.

At this department, therefore, Moeller recommended those officers and soldiers of the late army whom he met in Mecklenburg, to present themselves, and the gratifying assurance of his majesty's considerate sentiments, which he conveyed to them, joined to their own well grounded confidence in the generous feelings of the monarch, soon pervaded the scattered ranks of the disbanded Hanoverians, and prepared the

way to their reunion under the banners of 1803.  
England. July.

The principal impediment to the emigration of the troops was raised by their own ministry and general officers, the most of whom, apprehensive that such an infraction of the third article of the Elbe convention would be visited upon the conquered country by a more severe treatment of the inhabitants, endeavoured to deter them from leaving the continent.

But the situation of the disbanded soldiers in their own country was too galling, and the prospect which offered itself to them in England too favourable, to allow of their long hesitating as to the course which they should pursue. The insulting demeanour of the French military—the painful aspect of their native land—the doubtful and distant prospect of her emancipation—gradually operated to overcome their natural reluctance to abandon their friends and families, and led them finally to place their whole dependance upon British protection.

The hurried and careless manner in which the last convention had been concluded, much favoured the scheme of embarkation. No promise not to serve against France had been required of the troops; in fact the Elbe convention was never officially communicated, and first became known to them through the public papers; they were, therefore, in nowise bound to observe its restrictions.

1803. A rescript in the king's name was also published  
July, by the several British ministers at the German courts, which explicitly absolved his majesty's Hanoverian subjects from the observance of all conventions which his ministers or generals might, without his majesty's ratification, enter into with the French. Thus no moral objection to the departure of the troops can be said to have existed.

To this step the French did not offer any serious impediment—perhaps the known loyalty of the troops prevented any over-anxiety to detain them on the part of the new government; and a free passage through Holsteen having been generously granted by the king of Denmark to those Hanoverians desirous of embarking for England, little difficulty presented itself to their progress to the coast.

But although the French prudently abstained from employing any forcible means of preventing the departure of men, whose abode, as civil inhabitants, in their new possession might have been dangerous to its peace, they omitted not to tempt them with offers which were calculated to procure their stay, under the more advantageous condition of military service. A corps to be called the “French Hanoverian Legion” was proposed to be organized, and in this the disbanded officers and soldiers were invited to enrol themselves; but, attractive as this proposition doubtless was to those officers whose professional incomes had alone afforded to themselves and families the means of support,

honour and loyalty maintained their influence over the general body, and two only\* were induced to take service in the ranks of the French.

1803.

July.

Lieutenant-colonel von der Decken was, as has been stated, empowered to raise a corps of foreigners for the British service, not exceeding four thousand men. The letter of service which invested him with this authority, was issued from the commander-in-chief's office on the 28th of July, and held out to the Hanoverians nearly all the advantages which government offered to recruits enlisted for British regiments. Lieutenant-colonel Decken was to have the rank of colonel, and fifteen guineas for each recruit on approval, the bounty being seven pounds, twelve shillings, and six pence.

It was, however, stipulated that if four hundred approved recruits should not have been raised within three months from the date of the letter of service, it should be at the option of his majesty to order the levy to be discontinued: the king also reserved to himself the power of putting an end to the present agreement upon giving two months' notice.

The same day on which the letter of service was issued to colonel Decken, a similar authority was given to major Colin Halkett, of the Dutch service, empowering him to raise, on nearly the same conditions, a battalion of infantry with an establishment

\* One lieutenant and two ensigns of the disbanded army entered the French service; but one of these was a native of Denmark.

1803. of four hundred and fifty-nine men, and offering  
July. him the rank of lieutenant-colonel should he increase the number to eight hundred men.

The first individuals of the late Hanoverian army who landed in England were major von Hinüber, captain Offney, and cornet Augustus Heise. These officers left Lauenburg immediately after the Elbe convention had been concluded, and were forthwith put in requisition by colonel Decken to assist in the formation of his new corps.

Journal of  
1st light  
battalion,  
MSS.

The town of Lymington, in Hampshire, was appointed the place of rendezvous for the recruits, whose examination and outfit were here carried on. Officers were also stationed at Plymouth and Harwich, from which ports the men were forwarded to Lymington.

The commencement of the recruiting was far from promising. On the 8th of August not more than seven men had been enlisted. The British government, therefore, thought it advisable to give more publicity to the king's design, and his royal highness the duke of Cambridge having expressed his readiness to take the command of the corps which it was intended to raise, the following proclamation was made public.

“ 10th August, 1803.

“ His majesty George the Third, king of the united kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland, has been pleased to grant letters of service to colonel

baron Decken, for raising a corps of light infantry for the British service, which is to be called the KING'S GERMANS, and which, when completed, will be under the command of his royal highness the duke of Cambridge. All foreigners, and especially all brave Germans, are therefore called upon to enlist in the said corps. They will receive a very considerable bounty, and are to enjoy the same pay and prerogatives as the regular regiments in the British line.

1803.

August.

Journal of  
1st light  
battalion,  
MSS.

“ Those who are disabled during the war are also to have pensions. Each recruit is to engage for seven years, and for half-a-year after the signature of a future definitive treaty of peace, after which he will be discharged, and is then to receive an adequate sum of money to defray his expenses home.”

Advantageous as were the terms which his majesty's proclamation offered, little immediate effect appears to have been produced by it, and serious apprehensions began to be entertained that colonel von der Decken would be unable to comply with that condition of his letter of service which limited the period allowed him for the raising of four hundred men, to *four months*. In this event, the men which should have been already enlisted were to be distributed throughout the British West India regiments, and the result of the first ten weeks' recruiting was so unpromising, that such a consequence appeared far from improbable.

1803. Towards the end of September, however, colonel  
 Sept. Decken's prospects brightened; the design of the  
 Journal of English government had become known in Hanover,  
 1st light and the Hanoverian officers spared no exertion to  
 battalion, promote its fulfilment. Several hundred recruits  
 MSS. were now expected in England, and these arrived  
 at Lymington so suddenly and in such numbers,  
 that the depôt was soon overstocked, and it became  
 necessary to remove a part of the men to Park-  
 hurst barracks in the Isle of Wight.

So favourable a change in the progress of the  
 recruiting had now taken place, that it was no longer  
 found necessary to continue the stations at Ply-  
 mouth and Harwich; and major von Hinüber, who  
 had been in superintendence at the former place,  
 was therefore removed to the Isle of Wight, where,  
 on the 13th of October, he took the command of  
 the KING'S GERMAN REGIMENT, as the new corps  
 was first entitled.

The increasing emigration from Hanover appears,  
 about this time, to have alarmed the French. On  
 Appendix, the 6th of October a proclamation was issued by  
 No. III. A. the executive commission, warning the magistrates  
 not to encourage recruiting for the English army,  
 and requiring them to give information against all  
 persons found to be so engaged. This was followed,  
 on the 10th, by another proclamation, in which  
 the inhabitants were informed that any one who was  
 engaged in recruiting for the English army, or  
 induced others to enter into the English service,



would be given up to the French military tribunal, and punished, according to its laws, with *death*. This formidable warning was read for three successive Sundays in the public churches ; but notwithstanding the severity of the threatened sentence, and the imposing manner in which it was denounced, the agents of the new corps continued their exertions, and except in one instance appear to have evaded the vigilance of the French. The case in question was that of a sergeant named Ahrens, who was apprehended and brought to trial on the charge of *embauchage*, or secret recruiting, of which he was found guilty ; but the majority of his judges being against the extreme punishment of death, the sentence was commuted to *fifteen years' imprisonment in irons* !

1803.  
October.  
Appendix.  
No. III.  
B. & C.

Appendix,  
No. III.  
D.

The number of officers who had now arrived in England was so much greater in proportion than that of men, that it was not possible at once to provide them with suitable appointments in the new levy, and therefore to obviate this inconvenience to the individuals, the British government liberally allowed each Hanoverian officer, from the day of his arrival until that of his gazettment, two thirds of the pay to which British officers of similar rank were entitled.

On the 3d of November, the number of recruits at the Isle of Wight amounted to four hundred and fifty, and the continuance of the levy was consequently secured.

1803. The original plan of forming a regiment only  
December. was now extended, and a corps consisting of cavalry, infantry, and artillery was proposed to be raised. The better to effect this object, the independent levies of colonel von der Decken and major Halkett were ordered to be discontinued, and the men that had been already enlisted by those officers to be incorporated as the basis of a legion, which his majesty was pleased to authorize should be raised by his royal highness the duke of Cambridge.

Appendix,  
No. IV.

This corps was not to exceed five thousand men, which were to be enlisted, if possible, for ten, but certainly for not less than seven years. The other conditions of the letter of service, by virtue of which his royal highness was empowered to raise the legion, were nearly similar to those by which colonel von der Decken and major Halkett had been restricted. His majesty also held himself free to discontinue at pleasure the new corps or any part thereof, even although the period of enlistment should not have expired.

Journal of  
1st light  
battalion,  
MSS.

Meantime, major von Hinüber had been busily engaged in dividing and regulating the fast increasing numbers of his command at the Isle of Wight, which was, in the middle of November, removed to Hilsea barracks, and before the end of that month numbered about a thousand men.

From these, the men fit for the cavalry and artillery services having been withdrawn, two light regiments and the foundation of one line battalion



THIRD HUSSARS.



FIRST DRAGOONS. (1812)





**SECOND DRAGOONS. (1812)**



**FIRST DRAGOONS. (1803)**



Plate 4.



FIRST LIGHT INFANTRY.



Handwritten or stamped text, possibly a date or reference number, appearing as a series of dots or a faint signature.

Handwritten or stamped text, possibly a date or reference number, appearing as a series of dots or a faint signature.





SECOND LIGHT INFANTRY.





LINE BATTALIONS.

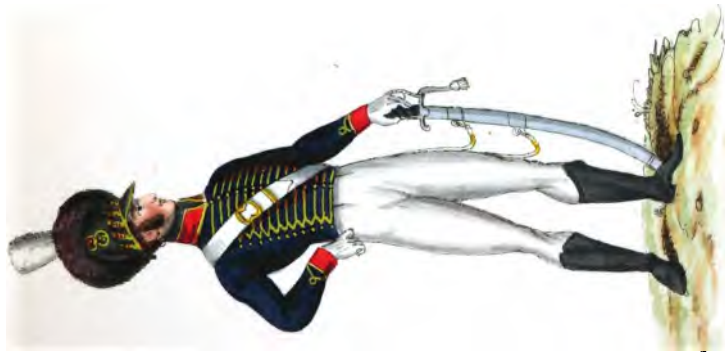




SKIRMISHERS.







ARTILLERY.







PRIVATE OF FOOT ARTILLERY.



OFFICER OF ENGINEERS.



were formed. The light brigade being intended <sup>1803.</sup>  
for a rifle corps, were clothed in green, while the <sup>December.</sup>  
line battalion was furnished with a uniform nearly  
similar to that worn by the British royal regiments  
of infantry. (*See Plate.*)

The organization of the cavalry and horse-artillery  
was commenced at Weymouth; that of the foot-  
artillery, at Hilsea. From the men intended for  
the cavalry service, and the most of whom were  
volunteers from the late Hanoverian army, four  
troops of heavy, and four of light, dragoons were  
formed; the heavy cavalry were clothed like the Bri-  
tish royal regiments of heavy dragoons, the light  
regiment as the English hussars; the uniform of  
the artillery and engineers was in every respect  
similar to that of the same corps in the British  
service. (*See Plate.*)

The artillery were also principally furnished with  
recruits from the late Hanoverian army, and these,  
together with other foreigners who had already  
been in that branch of the service, arrived in  
such numbers before the end of the year, that one  
horse and one foot battery were by that time formed.

Thus, in less than six months from the period of  
the dissolution of the Hanoverian army in Lauen-  
burg, its scattered elements had been re-united in  
England, and now formed the basis of that corps  
which was henceforward to bear the name of THE  
KING'S GERMAN LEGION.

1804.

February.

## CHAPTER VI.

THE foundation of the new corps having been thus laid, its superstructure rose rapidly to completion; and notwithstanding the difficulties which a foreign country, foreign commanders, and a foreign language presented to its organization, several squadrons, battalions, and batteries were in a short time ready to take the field.

Narrative  
of colonel  
v. Linsin-  
gen, MSS.

In the month of February two additional troops were added to the two cavalry regiments, which before the end of the year numbered each four hundred and fifty horses. Quartered at Weymouth and Dorchester, under the command of major-general von Linsingen, this brigade became an object of his majesty's notice, and was many times honoured with the royal inspection during the sojourn of the king at his usual summer residence. The heavy regiment, in particular, was a marked favourite with his majesty, who not unfrequently appeared in the uniform of that corps.

Narrative  
of colonel  
Baring,  
MSS.

The formation of the infantry regiments was naturally much sooner effected than that of the cavalry. In April, a second line battalion had been formed; in May, the foundation of a third, and a few months afterwards, that of a fourth battalion was commenced;

both of these regiments were completed before the end of the succeeding January, when, also, the frame-work of a fifth battalion was at hand.

1804.

July.

Narrative  
of general  
Hartmann,  
MSS.

The formation of the artillery, although necessarily attended with much greater difficulty than either of the other arms, was proportionately successful. In July, a second foot battery had been completed; the formation of a third foot and of a second horse battery was immediately commenced, and both were completed in the course of the following spring.

The four battalions of infantry which had been already completed, were formed into a light and line brigade, the former under colonel von Alten, the line brigade under colonel von Langwerth; and these regiments, after having been a short time encamped in the new forest, were, together with the first foot battery of artillery, removed to Bexhill, on the coast of Sussex, at which place it was intended to establish the general infantry depôt of the legion.

Narrative  
of colonel  
Baring.  
MSS.

The barracks here did not, however, afford room sufficient for the numbers that now required accommodation, and earthen huts were ordered to be built for that purpose. These were quickly thrown up by the troops, who occupied their straw-roofed tenements before the end of the year.

In January, 1805, the King's German Legion consisted of the following corps.

1805.

January.

## CAVALRY BRIGADE.

## MAJOR-GENERAL VON LINSINGEN.

1st dragoons ..... colonel von Bock.  
 1st hussars ..... colonel Victor von Alten.

## LIGHT INFANTRY BRIGADE.

1st light battalion ..... col. Charles von Alten, brigadier.  
 2d light battalion ..... lieutenant-colonel Halkett.

## FIRST LINE BRIGADE.

1st line battalion ..... colonel von Ompteda.  
 2d line battalion ..... colonel von Barse, brigadier.

## SECOND LINE BRIGADE.

3d line battalion ..... colonel von Hinüber.  
 4th line battalion ..... colonel von Langwerth, brigadier.

## ARTILLERY.

COLONEL COMMANDANT—COLONEL VON DER DECKEN.  
 (ADJUTANT-GENERAL TO THE KING'S GERMAN LEGION.)

## MAJOR, FREDERICK VON LINSINGEN.

1st horse battery ..... captain G. J. Hartmann.  
 2d horse battery ..... captain Röttiger.  
 1st foot battery ..... captain Brückmann.  
 2d foot battery ..... captain Kühlmann.  
 3d foot battery ..... captain Heise.

## ENGINEERS.

Captains Berensbach, Prott, Meinecke.  
 Lieutenants Hassebroik, Appuhn, Schweitzer.

The cavalry brigade and captain Hartmann's battery of horse artillery formed part of a corps of eight thousand men, which was encamped near Weymouth during the summer, under the command of his royal highness the duke of Cumberland.

Although for the first time called upon to <sup>1805.</sup> manœuvre in conjunction with English regiments, <sup>July.</sup> to whose words of command they had not been yet habituated, the Hanoverians proved not less efficient <sup>Narrative of colonel v. Linsingen, MSS.</sup> than their British comrades. The light cavalry movements in particular met with the marked approbation of the inspecting generals, as did the correct and steady firing of the artillery.\*

The camp was frequently visited by the king, the prince of Wales, and other members of the royal family. His majesty would often tarry near the German regiments: he also occasionally attended their parades for divine service, and by these and similar marks of condescension made his Hanoverian subjects deeply sensible of the royal favour.

The continental coalition against French ascendancy, which the active policy of Mr. Pitt this year effected, opened a prospect to the new-raised corps which spread universal joy throughout its ranks. Austria and Prussia had joined in a league with England against France; the British government were to send an army to the north of Germany to aid the operations of the allies, and the completed regiments of the legion were to form part of that army! No intelligence could have been more wel-

\* The several regiments of the legion were at first permitted to follow the Hanoverian system of exercise and manœuvre, and only in mounting guard and all movements relating to parade, were required to conform to the British regulations, which they did not entirely adopt until 1808. The artillery were put under the board of ordnance from the 1st August, 1806.

1805. November. comed by the Hanoverians. The liberation of their country—the return to their homes—the restoration of their sovereign—were at once vividly pictured as the results of the expedition, and could not fail to present a brave, patriotic, and warm-hearted soldiery, with the most brilliant prospects of the approaching campaign.

But quickly and completely were these expectations destroyed. — Mack surrendered at Ulm, on the 17th of October; Buonaparte gained the battle of Austerlitz on the 2d of December; the treaties of Presburg and Vienna were soon after signed, the coalition was thus lamed, and Prussian troops took possession of Hanover.

Little, however, was so rapid and fatal a termination to the triple league anticipated, when lord Cathcart's expedition embarked for the Elbe. This army, about eighteen thousand strong, six thousand of which consisted of the king's German legion, sailed from Ramsgate in the month of November, under the command of general Don, and a most unpropitious commencement to their active career the legion experienced; for scarce had the transports in which they were shipped reached the open sea, when they encountered a gale of wind which dispersed the whole corps. The hussars were driven to the coast of Holland; half the heavy cavalry regiment was forced back to England, one of their transports narrowly escaping capture under the batteries of Calais, from which it was only



saved by a sudden shift of wind ; and three companies of the fourth line battalion were cast ashore on the island of Wangerode in Oldenburg. No lives, however, were lost, and in the beginning of December the whole corps, with the exception of that part of the heavy cavalry regiment which was driven back, and did not return, landed in the Hanoverian territory.

Lord Cathcart arrived on the 25th, and took the command of the army, establishing his head-quarters at Bremen. Those of general Don, under whom were the legion, were fixed at Verden.

In order to oppose the movements of the Austro-Russian army, the French had evacuated the whole Hanoverian territory, with the exception of the fortress of Hameln, where a strong garrison still remained. The Russians had invested the place, and the first line brigade, first foot battery, and one engineer officer of the legion, were sent to co-operate with the Russian corps.

But the allies were too late in the field. Before the British troops left England general Mack had capitulated ; before they reached the Elbe, Napoleon was at Vienna ; and before lord Cathcart had established his head-quarters at Bremen, the " battle of the three emperors " had decided the fate of Austria. All hostile movements in the north of Germany were consequently suspended, and the British-Hanoverian army was ordered to return to England.

1806.

January.

1806. This intelligence produced general disappointment among the troops. To the legion, as may be well supposed, the tidings were peculiarly unwelcome, and the sudden and complete annihilation to all their hopes caused by the order for embarkation, joined to the wily machinations of some of their own evil disposed countrymen, had so powerful an effect upon the private soldiers, that many of them were induced to forsake their standard and return to their homes.

January.  
Narrative  
of colonel  
Baring,  
MSS.

Landing in Germany under the full conviction that an opportunity would be given them of contending for the restoration of Hanover on her own soil, the sudden destruction of this prospect caused a proportionate degree of mortification and disappointment. A glance at their country—a hasty interview with their friends, and then the tame abandonment of both to Prussian dominion, little realized the sanguine expectations with which they had embarked. The inhabitants of Bremen, also, who in consequence of the blockade of the Weser were ill-disposed towards England, encouraged the discontented feeling which this disappointment produced, by representing, in the most forbidding colours, the fate which was likely to await them on their return. That they were destined for colonial service, and would never be permitted to return to their own country, was strongly dwelt upon, and the “*barbarians*” and “*cannibals*” of the East and

West Indies would, it was affirmed, be the inhabitants of their future quarters. 1806.

January.

Giving credence to these and similar reports, the men who had any interest in Hanover felt naturally disinclined to re-embark, and many returned to their homes. The desertions were principally amongst the cavalry, several of whom, having a little property in the country, were more sensible to the impression that was sought to be made upon them, and left their regiments in bodies of tens, twenties, and upwards, taking with them their horses and appointments. Many, however, soon repented of their misconduct, and availed themselves of the general pardon which was soon after issued by Lord Cathcart.\*

Notwithstanding these desertions, the legion was considerably augmented during its short stay on the continent. Colonel von der Decken, who held the chief controul over the recruiting department, had gone to Hanover in November, with the local rank of brigadier-general, for the purpose of superintending the proposed augmentation of the legion to eighteen thousand men. In furtherance of this object, he established recruiting depots at Stade and Hanover, to which places volunteers soon poured in, and the following increase to the corps,

Narrative  
of colonel  
Baring,  
MSS.

\* A free pardon was offered by lord Cathcart to all deserters who should report themselves to the commander of the English fleet at Bremerlehe before the 10th of March, which pardon was afterwards extended by his majesty to the end of the year.

1806. which was effected before the end of February,  
 February. proved the success with which the arrangements of  
 the general, and the exertions of the officers under  
 his command, had been attended.

Narrative  
 of colonel  
 v. Linsin-  
 gen, MSS.

A second regiment of heavy dragoons, and a  
 third regiment of hussars, each about six hundred  
 and fifty strong, were formed. The second hussars,  
 whose formation had been commenced in England  
 the preceding June, was completed to the same  
 strength, and the quick re-embarkation of the  
 army alone prevented the formation of a fourth re-  
 giment of cavalry.

Narrative  
 of colonel  
 Baring,  
 MSS.

Each of the infantry battalions which had been  
 already raised were augmented to a thousand men;  
 a fifth, sixth, and seventh, line battalion were  
 raised; three hundred men, as a foundation for an  
 eighth battalion, were also enlisted, and a fourth  
 battery was added to the corps of artillery.

By the middle of February the whole had em-  
 barked, and in a few days the fleet arrived at  
 Portsmouth. Here the cavalry, the three last  
 raised regiments of infantry, and the artillery were  
 landed, while the light-battalions and the two first  
 line brigades were ordered to proceed to Ireland.

Narrative  
 of colonel  
 v. Linsin-  
 gen, MSS.

The first heavy and first light regiments of  
 cavalry were also destined for the same country,  
 and embarked at Liverpool for Dublin in the month  
 of April; the head-quarters of the former were  
 stationed at Gort, in the county of Galway; those of  
 the latter at Tullamore in the King's County.

The second dragoons marched to Northampton, 1806.  
 where, under the command of colonel von Vel- April.  
 theim, the regiment was completed. The men that  
 had been enlisted for the second hussars joined  
 that regiment at Canterbury, where, under the  
 command of colonel Victor von Alten, its head-  
 quarters were established.

The third hussars were quartered at Guilford  
 under colonel von Reden.

The two last raised regiments of cavalry had been  
 partially mounted in Hanover, but want of trans-  
 port room made it necessary that many of the  
 horses should be disposed of previous to embarka-  
 tion, and the few that were brought to England  
 were there replaced by English horses, with which  
 both the cavalry and artillery of the legion were all  
 ultimately provided.

The fifth and sixth regiments of infantry were  
 formed into the third line brigade under colonel  
 von Drieberg, and marched to Winchester, where  
 they were joined in May by the seventh and eighth  
 battalions, now formed into the fourth line brigade  
 under major general von Dreschel.

The artillery were stationed at Porchester bar-  
 racks, under the command of major Röttiger.

The advantages of the royal military academy at  
 Woolwich not being open to the officers of this Narrative  
of general  
Hartmann,  
MSS.  
 corps, an establishment for professional instruction,  
 at the private expence of the regiment, was set on

1806. foot by its commanding officer, major Röttiger, whose  
 May. exertions proved of material service to the legion at large; for not only did this establishment furnish the artillery with efficient officers and non-commissioned officers, but many officers of the other regiments of the legion received from it their first lessons in theoretical instruction.

Journal of  
 major Rau-  
 tenberg,  
 MSS.

It has been mentioned that the two light battalions and the first and second line brigades were ordered to proceed to Ireland. On the 6th of May these regiments sailed for Cork, but scarce had they lost sight of the English coast when a violent gale of wind sprung up and drove them into the Atlantic. The gale lasted nearly three days, and finally obliged the transports to put in to Bantry Bay, on the south-west coast of Ireland, where in the Harbour of Beerhaven they anchored on the 13th.

So long a voyage not having been anticipated, their stock of provisions proved here deficient, and recourse was had to the inhabitants of the coast for fresh supplies. To their dismay the Germans found that the peasantry of these parts, providently reserving any cattle which they might possess, as a means of paying the rent of their tenements, subsisted almost entirely upon fish and potatoes, and were consequently little qualified to provide the strangers with more substantial nourishment. From this state of abstinence the troops were, however,

relieved on the 20th, when, the easterly wind subsiding, they sailed for Cork, and anchored in Cove-harbour on the following day, 1806.  
May.

The two light battalions went to Bandon, the first regiment of the line to Kinsale, the second to Middleton, and the remaining brigade was quartered at Clonooney-barracks\* in the Queen's County.

After the Prussians had obtained possession of Hanover, they threw so many impediments in the way of general Decken's arrangements for continuing the recruiting, that the depots at Hanover and Stade were given up, and that officer returned to England; he was, however, enabled to send over five hundred additional men previous to his departure from Germany.

The first line brigade had been but a few weeks in its new quarters, when it was ordered to embark for Gibraltar, at which fortress the first and second line regiments landed at the end of June.

This change brought the third line brigade to Ireland, where it relieved the two light battalions; of these, the first regiment went to Tullamore in the King's County, the other to Kilbeggan in the neighbouring county of Westmeath.

The greater part of the legion had now been removed to Ireland, and found no reason to be dis- Narrative  
of colonel  
v. Linsin-  
gen, MSS.

\* A temporary barrack capable of containing two thousand men, which was then situated about seven miles from Birr (Parson's Town) and one-and-a-half miles from Banagher: it has since been demolished.

1806. satisfied with the change. To both officers and  
June. men Ireland presented advantages which the sister island did not afford them. The hospitality of the inhabitants ; the cheapness of provisions ; the readiness with which a stranger, and particularly a military man, was admitted into the family circles of the gentry—formed an agreeable contrast to the parallel circumstances in England. There, indeed, the country towns were so crowded with troops, that general attention to the military could scarcely be expected from the residents ; and he who was not fortunate enough to be provided with letters of introduction, had little chance of being invited to partake of their hospitality. In Ireland, on the other hand, the garrisons were smaller, and the gentry, ever more ready to form acquaintances than the English, make those advances\* which are so agreeable to a stranger, and could not but prove highly gratifying to the officers of a foreign corps.

The Hanoverians became acquainted with Irish hospitality to its fullest extent ; the houses of the more wealthy residents were open to them ; at the grand entertainment or more humbly family party, they were equally welcomed ; the ladies taught them English, and the gentlemen bore with their German ;—festivities denoted their presence, and lamentations their departure.

\* This quality is well expressed by the German word—*zuvoorkommend* (literally, coming first), for which I know of no synonyme in our language.



That this friendly intercourse should have led to more near alliances may well be imagined, and the subsequent change of condition of several officers of the corps proved that the fair daughters of Erin were not insensible to the merits of their foreign guests.

1806.

July.

With more complete satisfaction could we dwell upon the sojourn of the German legion in Ireland, did not an unfortunate event, which about this time occurred, mingle some painful recollections with this period of their history.

The light companies of some Irish militia regiments had been formed into a brigade, and stationed at the town of Birr in the King's County. In the month of July this brigade was broken up, and the several companies of which it was composed were ordered to join their respective regiments. Agreeably to this order, four companies, being those of the Derry, Monaghan, Limerick, and Sligo regiments, marched into Tullamore, where, as has been stated, the first light battalion and one squadron of the first dragoons of the legion were quartered. On their entrance into the town, the militia officers were met by a deputation from those of the legion, who, wishing to return a similar civility which had been paid to one of their battalions by the Irish officers at Birr, begged that they might be favoured with their company at dinner. The invitation was declined on the plea of fatigue, and the militia pro-

Journal of  
majorRau-  
tenberg,  
MSS.

1806. ceded to take up their quarters in Tullamore for  
 July. the night.

Appendix  
 No. V.

About seven o'clock in the evening a man belonging to the German light battalion, who was peaceably crossing the bridge that formed one end of the main street of the town, was knocked down by one of the militia, who was immediately joined by several of his comrades. Three other Germans, who were accidentally passing, and came up to see what was going forward, met with a similar fate.

Narrative  
 of general  
 v. Linsingen,  
 MSS.

Major-general von Linsingen, who, in the absence of general Dunne, commanded the district, happening to be at the moment about to leave the officers' dinner-room in the adjoining hotel, was attracted by the noise which this outrage occasioned, and seeing from the inn window that two or three of the German light infantry were surrounded by a crowd of militia soldiers, hurried to the spot, and in the best English he could command, entreated them to desist. For the moment his interference was effective; but two of the Germans had been already wounded with bayonets and stones, and a determination to repeat the assault appeared evident on the part of the militia. The major-general, therefore, sending to the barracks for a patrol, repaired to his quarters, and made the officer commanding the militia acquainted with what had occurred. This officer immediately waited upon

general Linsingen, who ordered him forthwith to  
 parade his men for roll-call, and sent similar in-  
 structions for the first light battalion of the legion  
 to colonel von Alten.

1806.  
 July.  
 Narrative  
 of general  
 v. Linsin-  
 gen, MSS.

The patrolle from the barracks now came up and seized one of the militia, who appeared to be a ringleader in the business. About twenty of his comrades then collected for the apparent purpose of rescuing him, and were about to charge the Germans with fixed bayonets, when captain von Düring of the first light battalion, who was parading his company in a square of the main street, moved it down upon the charging party, which had been momentarily stopped by the expostulation of brigade major von Kronenfeldt, and caused them to retreat behind the bridge. Here they faced about, and fired upon the Germans, seven of whom were wounded. Upon this, captain Düring pressed forward and drove them across the bridge and into the lanes beyond it; meantime colonel von Alten's battalion had been formed up in the main street.

The militia had now nearly all retired from this part of the town; but taking shelter in the houses, and at the corners of the streets, they still continued to fire upon the Germans, and lieutenant baron Marshalk was dangerously wounded by a musket-ball in the chest.

On the militia first beginning to fire, general Linsingen had ordered out a party of the first

1806. dragoons, which now arriving, he placed himself at  
July. their head, and charged the only body that still held out. This was the party which captain Düring had driven across the bridge, and which still kept a bold front in the lower part of the town. The German dragoons felt naturally irritated at the unprovoked treatment which their comrades had received, and shewed little mercy towards the aggressors. These, however, received them with a heavy fire; but not being able to withstand the violent reprisal of the cavalry, soon after dispersed, and here the affray, which lasted about half an hour, terminated.

Journal of  
major Rau-  
tenberg,  
MSS.

Three officers, (lieutenants Peters, Alten, and Marshalk,) twenty-two men, and five horses of the legion were wounded in this unfortunate disturbance; one of the wounded men afterwards died, and baron Marshalk, who had been shot through the lungs, was for a length of time not expected to recover.

Of the militia nine only were wounded, one of whom afterwards died, which small number of casualties, in proportion to that of the legion, was to be attributed to the latter being unprovided with ammunition, while the militia were all loaded with ball.

These serious results caused a long and minute investigation into the cause of the affray to be made by the government. A court of inquiry was convened at Tullamore, the report of which not

being deemed satisfactory, was followed by a second investigation, under the immediate superintendence of general Floyd, the commander of the forces in Ireland; but both failed in ascertaining the exact cause of the provocation;\* it was, however, fully proved that to the militia alone the fatal consequences which have been recorded were justly attributable.

1806.  
July.  
Journal of  
majorRau-  
tenberg,  
MSS.

The court of inquiry pronounced the conduct of two of the Irish officers reprehensible, and the one most censured was brought to a court martial on the principal charge of having been present at, and not using his best exertions to suppress, the disturbance. The charges were, however, not substantiated, and the officer was acquitted; but eight of the men, fifteen of whom were also tried, were sentenced to severe punishment as ringleaders in the affray.

The conduct of the Hanoverians under the peculiarly trying circumstances in which they were placed during the whole of this affair, was a theme of general commendation, and the official reports

\* Various reasons have been given for the hostile feeling of the militia towards the Germans;—revenge for a punishment, which had, a short time before, been inflicted upon one of their body for stealing a pipe from one of the German light infantry; a belief that the arrival of the latter in Ireland was the cause of the militia light brigade having been broken up; the faithlessness of some former "*sweethearts*" of the Irishmen in Tullamore, on the arrival of the legion in that town, have been severally stated as the cause of aggression, and, taken collectively, will probably account for the affray.

1806. were in the highest degree favourable to them.  
July. General Linsingen, however, felt doubtful as to the impression which might have been made upon the mind of the king respecting the German troops, and addressed a letter to lieutenant-colonel Taylor, his majesty's private secretary, on the subject. From his reply, which completely relieved the general's mind, by informing him of the nature of the official reports, we have been permitted to make the following extract :—

“ Windsor, August 4th, 1806.

“ MY DEAR GENERAL,

“ I had the pleasure of receiving, yesterday, your obliging letter of the 28th of July, and I lose no time in acknowledging it, as I am anxious to release your mind from any uneasiness in regard to the impression which may have been made here by the unfortunate occurrence at Tullamore. The king had received lieutenant-general Floyd's and the solicitor general's first report ; and their further reports, with the proceedings of the court of inquiry, have been laid before his majesty ; and I am happy to assure you that every document speaks in the most favourable terms of the conduct of the Hanoverian officers and men in the business, and throws the whole blame on the militia light companies. The reports endeavour to do justice to your personal exertions, and to the activity and steadiness of the cavalry, and the lord lieutenant corrobora-



rates the testimony of general Floyd and the solicitor-general, as to the general excellent conduct of colonel Alten's battalion, including all the Hanoverians, and as to the popularity which they have so justly acquired among the inhabitants. I sincerely regret that, so early, your residence in Ireland should have been marked by a circumstance so unpleasant to a brave old soldier; but, however distressing, I can assure you that it has proved most honourable to yourself, and all those of the German legion who were concerned in it."

1806.

July.

\* \* \* \* \*

"I communicated to the king the contents of your letter, and received his majesty's commands to assure you, that all that has come to his knowledge is highly to the credit of yourself and the Hanoverian officers and men, and tends to confirm him in the high opinion which he has ever had of the discipline and good conduct of the corps, which, his majesty is persuaded, will be conspicuous upon every occasion as upon this.

"The two light battalions have probably received their order to prepare for embarkation for Sicily, and I must only observe that this removal was decided upon before any information had been received of the affray at Tullamore. They are going upon what will, I think, prove a very interesting and very active service."

\* \* \* \* \*

The order for embarkation alluded to by colonel

1806. Taylor reached the light brigade in the beginning  
December. of August, when the first battalion marched to Middleton, and the second battalion to Mallow ; but on arriving at these towns, it was made known to them that their departure from Ireland was, for the present, deferred, and they were soon after removed to their old quarters at Bandon, the third line brigade going to the King's County. In the following spring, however, these battalions were again in march ; for the whole of the infantry, two regiments of cavalry, and four batteries of artillery of the legion, were, in the month of April, ordered to hold themselves in readiness to embark for the continent.



1807.

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April.

## CHAP. VII.

ALTHOUGH the continental coalition had been prematurely maimed, and the confederate army had evacuated Hanover, the chivalrous king of Sweden, under whose orders its operations were to have been carried on, still upheld the cause in which he had zealously embarked; and having rejected with disdain Napoleon's wily proposals for peace, although presented to him with the tempting condition of territorial aggrandisement, was now preparing to defend his territory of Pomerania from the attacks of the French.

General von Essen, the governor of that province, had, early in the spring, compelled the enemy to raise the siege of Stralsund, and repass the Swedish frontier; but on the 16th of April Mortier drove him back behind the Pene with considerable loss, and the contending parties concluded an armistice. Ten days' notice of the renewal of hostilities had been first agreed upon by the two generals, who afterwards extended this period to one month; the king of Sweden, however, who arrived at Stralsund early in May, and was there promised by general Clinton prompt and effectual assistance from England, declared that he would only acknow-

Bissett's  
reign of  
Geo. III.

1807. ledge the first stipulation of the armistice, and ordering the fortifications to be improved, and new works to be constructed in the neighbouring island of Rügen, awaited the arrival of the promised aid from England.

Journal of  
majorRau-  
tenberg,  
MSS.

This consisted of two regiments of light cavalry, eight battalions of infantry, and four batteries of artillery of the king's German legion, the whole amounting to about eight thousand men, of which lieutenant-general lord Rosslyn was appointed to the command.

It has been stated that the German battalions in Ireland had received orders to prepare for embarkation. These regiments sailed from Cork on the 29th of May, and with the usual luck of the legion on such occasions, encountered the next morning an adverse wind. The fleet were obliged to put into Mount's bay on the coast of Cornwall, where a serious calamity had well nigh befallen a part of the second light battalion.

The Northumberland transport, on board of which were lieutenant-colonel Halkett and three companies of his regiment, struck, in endeavouring to reach her anchorage, upon the Runnell stone rock, and sprung so great a leak that her preservation became hopeless. The sea was rushing rapidly through the opening, and the fate of all on board would, probably, have been soon identified with that of the vessel, had not one of the gun-brigs which formed the convoy hurried to her assistance,

and by the great exertions of all parties concerned, succeeded in conveying the entire crew of the sinking vessel to an adjoining transport; to which they had scarcely been removed, when the Northumberland went down, taking with her the baggage and arms of colonel Halkett's detachment.

On the 31st the transports were enabled to leave their place of shelter, and on the 7th of June the fleet anchored in the downs. Here they were joined by the second and third hussars, the fifth line brigade, the first battery of horse artillery, and the first, second, and fourth batteries of foot artillery of the legion, which had been embarked at Portsmouth and Ramsgate, and completed the force with which it was intended to assist the Swedes. This corps sailed in two divisions on the 19th of June and 1st of July, under the command of major generals von Linsingen and Drechsel, and by the 8th had reached the island of Rügen. In consequence of the low shore, the debarkation of the cavalry was attended with much difficulty, the greater part of the transports being obliged to anchor nearly two miles from the coast. By means, however, of a float which was provided with a trap-door, the horses were thrown into the water, through which they were led ashore from boats, and by the 15th the whole corps had safely landed. Part of general Drechsel's division, (which reached its destination on the 10th,) consisting of the sixth, seventh, and eighth line battalions, under colonel du Plat, were on the 14th sent over

1807.

May.

Journal of  
major Rau-  
tenberg,  
MSS.Journal of  
2d hussars,  
MSS.

1807. to Stralsund, into which fortress the Swedes, after  
July. having been attacked in their lines by marshal  
Brune on the expiration of the armistice, had been  
forced to retire.

This brigade was placed under the orders of  
general von Essen, the governor of Pomerania, and  
took the daily piquet duty alternately with the  
Swedish troops.

Journal of  
major Rau-  
tenberg,  
MSS.

Nothing of importance occurred until the morn-  
ing of the 6th of August, when about three o'clock  
in the forenoon the French commander sought, under  
cover of a strong division of his army, to push the in-  
vesting corps closer to the fortress, which movement  
the little garrison resisted by a vigorous sally, the  
three battalions of the legion occupying the ad-  
vanced works. The contest lasted for several hours;  
but the Swedes were finally obliged to yield to  
superior numbers, and again to retire within their  
walls.\*

While colonel du Plat's brigade was thus em-  
ployed at Stralsund, the two cavalry regiments,  
the light infantry brigade, and the first horse  
battery of artillery of the legion, were engaged in  
observing the opposite coast of the island of Rügen,

\* This was one of many spirited sallies made by the garrison of Stralsund; but the utmost efforts of so small a corps could ultimately avail little against an army of seventy thousand men; and after destroying the magazines, and spiking the cannon, the king of Sweden committed Stralsund to the care of its citizens, and on the 19th of August transferred his troops and stores to Rügen, where, early in September, the little army capitulated.

and the vigilance of the German piquets caused the French to abandon an attempt to land on the point of the peninsular Inder, which they made in armed boats on the night of the 30th of July.

1807.

August.

Journal of  
3d hussars,  
MSS.

But an event was in preparation which soon deprived the king of Sweden of his German allies.

A powerful naval and military armament had been fitted out by England for the purpose of ensuring compliance with a demand which the wavering conduct of Denmark, her inability to resist the ambitious views of France, and the positive information that Buonaparte had determined upon occupying Holstein with a military force, compelling Denmark to close the passage of the Sound against the British, and employing the Danish navy in the invasion of Great Britain and Ireland, had caused the government of those countries to make upon the sovereign of Denmark.

Declara-  
tion of his  
majesty,  
London  
Gazette.

His majesty's ministers required the temporary deposit of the Danish fleet in one of the British ports, on the solemn stipulation that it should be restored to Denmark in the same condition as that in which it should be delivered to the British admiral on the conclusion of a general peace.

This demand was rejected; the English fleet arrived in the Sound on the 3d of August; the prince royal of Sweden declared that he would adhere to the line of policy which he had hitherto pursued; and after a fruitless effort to shake this resolution had been made by Mr. Jackson the

1807. envoy, the naval and military commanders proceeded, according to their instructions, forcibly to effect that object which negotiation had failed to obtain.

Journal of  
major Rau-  
tenberg,  
MSS.

To the British land forces that were employed on this occasion, and which amounted to about two thousand men under the orders of lieutenant-general lord Cathcart, it was deemed necessary to add lord Rosslyn's corps; pursuant to which arrangement colonel du Plat's brigade rejoined the main body of the legion at Rügen on the 8th of August, and on the 13th the whole were under weigh for Zealand. Here they joined the fleet which had arrived from England on the 3d, under admiral Gambier, and found that the first hussars and first line brigade had also come out. The latter had been suddenly sent from Gibraltar on the 10th June, and reached the Downs in time to accompany the other troops. Thus, with the exception of the two heavy dragoon regiments, the second horse battery, and third foot battery of artillery, the whole of the legion were employed in this expedition.

The three hussar regiments which constituted the entire cavalry force of the army, were united into a brigade, and placed under the orders of major general von Linsingen.

The infantry formed the second division of the army under lieutenant-general the earl of Rosslyn, and were thus brigaded.

1st brigade,	colonel du Plat, 6th, 7th, and 8th line battalions.	1807.
2d „	colonel von Driberg, 3d, 4th, and 5th line battal.	August.
3d „	colonel von Barsse, 1st and 2d line battalions.	
4th „	colonel von Alten, 1st and 2d light battalions.	

To this division major-general von Drechsel and brigadier-general von der Decken were attached. Journal of major Rautenberg, MSS.

The legion artillery were under the immediate command of major Röttiger, the horse battery being commanded by captain A. Sympher, the three foot batteries by captains Gesenius, Tieling, and Heise; these four batteries, together with a similar force of English artillery, were under the chief command of major-general Bloomfield, to whom colonel Harding was second in command.

Colonel d'Arcy was the chief officer of engineers, major Fletcher second in command, under whom, of the legion, were captains Prott and Berensbach, lieutenants Meinecke, Appuhn and Schweitzer.

With the exception of one brigade which anchored higher up the Sound to make a diversion, the whole of the English infantry, the first line brigade of the legion, and two batteries of artillery were landed on the morning of the 16th at the village of Wedbeck, about eight miles from Copenhagen, and occupied the heights without meeting with any resistance. Towards evening, about forty horses of the first hussars were also landed, and under their escort the commander-in- Journal of the army under lord Cathcart, London Gazette, 1807.

1807. chief proceeded to reconnoitre the approaches to  
August. the capital.

*Journal of  
the army  
under lord  
Cathcart.*

The only opponents with which the detachments met were a troop of armed peasants, and these were easily made prisoners; however, on their providing the general with the information which his lordship required, and promising not to appear again in arms, they were permitted to depart, and the detachment continued its march, unmolested, to Jägerborg, where it found accommodation in a cavalry barrack which had been that morning abandoned by the Danes.

The army followed in three columns in the same evening, and on the following morning Copenhagen was completely invested, both flanks of the army resting on the sea.

About noon the advanced piquets of the left wing were attacked, and that part of the line was at the same time cannonaded with grape and round shot from the enemy's gun-boats in the harbour. The piquets repelled the attack and kept possession of their posts, and the English gun-brigs and bombs having opened a fire upon the enemy's gun-boats, obliged them, after a long cannonade, to retire into the harbour. A detachment of the second hussars, which, as well as the remainder of the first hussars and English artillery, had just then landed, came into fire on this occasion.

On the 18th, the garrison of Freiderickswerk surrendered to a squadron of the legion, after as



bloodless, if not as ludicrous an expedition as ever terminated in the capture of a fortress.

1807.

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August.

Captain Krauchenberg of the first hussars, whose spirited conduct as lieutenant of the late Hanoverian cavalry has been already noticed, being in command of the advanced guard of a squadron of that regiment which had been sent out to reconnoitre under the orders of brigadier general von der Decken, learned that a convoy of a hundred and eighty waggons, loaded with ammunition and protected by a strong escort, was on its way to the fortress of Friederickswerk, about sixteen miles distant; and thinking that a good opportunity of making a capture was thus presented to the hussars, he proposed to, and obtained the consent of, general Decken to attempt to cut off the convoy.

The squadron accordingly proceeded to Krigume, but it was here ascertained that the convoy had already passed through on its way to Friederickswerk. Krauchenberg was not, however, disposed to give up the intended capture, and now proposed attempting to take the fortress by surprise.

The day was far advanced and the horses were much fatigued. General Decken, however, assented to the proposition of his enterprising squadron officer, and the detachment moved on towards Friederickswerk, which was stated to be a strong position defended by a corps called the volunteers of the place, which had been raised by the crown prince

1807. himself for the protection of the powder-mills and  
August. arsenal there.

About one in the morning the squadron had arrived within half a mile of the place, and here general Decken halted with the main body, while captain Krauchenberg and lieutenant Schaumann, with a few men, rode forward, and succeeded in surprising the enemy's advanced picquet. Krauchenberg now sent the officer of the picquet to the commandant of the fortress with the imposing announcement "that general von der Decken, at the head of an army of ten thousand men, was in full march upon Friederickswerk, and had sent him forward to summon the place, which," he added, "would assuredly be taken by storm if the governor did not immediately surrender!"

Major Tschering, the governor and aid-de-camp to the prince-royal, seeing, no doubt, the hopelessness of his being able to stand the assault with which he was threatened, sought only to moderate the demands that might be made upon him; and having expressed his firm conviction that his countryman general von der Decken (for the commandant was also a German) would grant him honourable terms of capitulation, empowered captain Krauchenberg to state his readiness to treat immediately with the general for the surrender of the place.

This being communicated to general Decken, he

kept the squadron stationary just long enough to allow for the supposed advance of his imaginary army, and then galloping up with all the clatter and parade which the hussars could make, presented himself to the simple-minded commandant, who did not long hesitate in agreeing to the terms that were offered to him by the general. Eight hundred and sixty men, thirty-two of whom only were regular troops, surrendered, upon conditions that they should not serve again during the war, or until exchanged ; and a great quantity of powder, guns, and small arms, were also placed at the disposition of the captors.

1807.

August.

General  
von der  
Decken's  
Report.

As general Decken was unprovided with the means of transporting so large a quantity of stores, he was obliged to be satisfied with the promises of the governor and his officers that neither powder nor stores should be given to the Danes, and to content himself with carrying off four guns and half the arms of the garrison.

Every thing had been thus amicably arranged, and the squadron was on its return about five o'clock, in the morning, when the appearance and noise of crowds of armed peasants shewed that the expedition was no longer likely to proceed without interruption. The return of day-light had opened the eyes of the commandant, and it was soon known that the fortress of Freiderickswerk had surrendered to a squadron of German hussars instead of an army of ten thousand men. The peasants had, therefore, turned

1807. out—perhaps at the instigation of the governor—  
 August. from all the neighbouring villages, and armed, some with rifles, the greater part with pitch-forks, made a show of opposing the return of the cavalry. Some thousands collected on a height, and a few shots were fired, but from too great a distance to have any effect on the squadron; and lieutenant Ernest Poten galloping up to them at the head of a few men, the greater part dispersed, leaving fifty men and five horses in the hands of the hussars.

General  
 von der  
 Decken's  
 Report.

Hearing that all the woods and villages which lay in the direction of his march were similarly beset with armed peasants, the general changed his road, and took the squadron away to the left, by which judicious detour he gained the open country, and brought the hussars and their trophies back in safety to Jägersborg. The prisoners, after having been chastised with the back of the sword, and set right with regard to the presence of the English troops in their country, were all liberated.

The fleet which bore lord Rosslyn's corps from Rügen anchored, on the 15th, in Kioge Bay, where, on the 21st, the whole of the infantry and two batteries of artillery were landed. The cavalry and two remaining batteries of artillery were sent round to Charlottenlund, and disembarked there on the 18th and 19th.

The duty of the three cavalry regiments and of the horse artillery of the legion was to observe

the country in rear of the besieging army by a chain of posts from Sorgenfrey and Kollekalle, which was supported by the first line battalion; the whole being under the direction of brigadier-general von der Decken. Each cavalry regiment also furnished a squadron or more to the divisions before Copenhagen. The first hussars provided the centre, the second hussars the left, and the third hussars of the legion the right wing; the latter regiment was also employed in observing the great roads leading from the capital to Roeskilde and Kiøge. At Roeskilde the Danes were said to have collected some troops, and a squadron of the third, under captain Küper, was sent on the night of the 21st to reconnoitre and endeavour to surprise them. About half a league from Roeskilde the squadron surrounded the Danish videttes, and at day-break surprised their outposts, which consisted both of cavalry and infantry. Sixteen of the enemy were killed, and three men and forty-five horses captured. The rest taking to flight, captain Küper pursued them to the gates of Roeskilde, from whence a fire of infantry obliged him to retire. His loss amounted to only four men and two horses wounded.

The troops which had occupied Roeskilde now retired to Geveningen, between which place and Ringstedt the Danish militia were concentrated and encamped. Kiøge was also evacuated, and its

1803.

August.

Journal of  
3d hussars,  
MSS.Journal of  
the army  
under lord  
Cathcart.

1807. citizens, who had begun to organize themselves into

August. a corps, were disarmed by the Germans.

Journal of  
the army  
under lord  
Catheart.

On the 23d, lord Rosslyn's corps joined the army, and took its position in second line, covering the centre.

On the 24th, the army advanced, and the centre occupied a road running to Freidericksberg, parallel to the defences of the place, the suburbs between that point and Copenhagen being also occupied by the besieging army.

The enemy's piquets now fell back to the lakes or inundations in front of the place, and those of the British took possession of the abandoned positions. In the afternoon the garrison appeared on all the avenues leading from the town, apparently with the design either to recover their ground, or to burn the suburbs; and the several generals of the besieging army immediately drove them in, each in his own front. At the same time they seized all the suburbs on the north part of the lakes, establishing themselves, in some places, within four hundred yards of the ramparts.

On this occasion, major Halkett, with three companies of the second light battalion of the legion, captured a redoubt in a manner which reflected much credit upon that officer and the men whom he commanded.

Narrative  
of gen. sir  
H. Halkett.  
MSS.

A reconnoitering party of the second light battalion had, unobserved by the Danes, crept into some of the gardens near the town, and discovered

that the enemy were busily engaged in bringing guns into a newly-finished redoubt. Being close under the walls of their citadel, the Danish piquets considered themselves quite secure; and major Halkett thought that the circumstances were favourable to an attack being made upon them. He, therefore, sent an officer to the camp, requesting that two companies of the second light battalion might be sent up, and a third placed in reserve. The troops in advancing received the fire of the citadel, but were soon covered by the hedges which enclosed the gardens. Here they were met by the Danish riflemen; but the good dispositions which the two captains von Düring and du Plat made of their men, enabled them to reach the redoubt, which immediately opened its fire upon them. The work was instantly attacked, and, with the assistance of the reserve company under captain Bösewiel, was carried, the Danes making a sharp resistance. The riflemen who had opposed the advance of the Germans, finding that the redoubt was taken, retired towards the citadel, which, together with the crown batteries and block ships, now poured its fire upon the redoubt, and caused the whole British line to get under arms. Lieutenant-general Sir David Baird, to whose division the second light battalion was at this time attached, soon joined the troops in the redoubt, and although it had been attacked without his orders, he appeared gratified at major Halkett's success, and acceded to his request

1807.

August.

Narrative  
of sir H.  
Halkett,  
MSS.

1807. to be allowed to keep possession of his conquest.

August.

Narrative  
of Sir H.  
Halkett,  
MSS.

The commander-in-chief, however, on being informed of what had occurred, sent positive orders for the troops to fall back, as he did not consider the position tenable. But general Baird's report produced a change in the opinion of lord Cathcart, and the Germans now received orders to advance and again possess themselves of the post from which they had been inconsiderately withdrawn. Meantime, the Danes had received reinforcements, but the force which supported the second attack ensured its success, and the redoubt again yielded to its former victors.

This capture, united with the general success of the investing corps on the same day, led to new lines of approach being taken up; the works in progress were abandoned, and a parallel within eight hundred yards of the place, and nearer to it on the flanks, was immediately commenced.



## CHAPTER VIII.

EIGHT hundred of the legion under colonel von Reinboldt, of the fifth battalion, having been sent forward, on the morning of the 25th, to close in the investment, the Danish garrison sallied out with much vigour and in considerable force. The attack was gallantly met and repulsed by the legion detachment, and the Danes were driven back at all points, but not without loss to the Hanoverians, from sixty to seventy of whom were killed and wounded. Among the latter was captain von Dürring of the first light battalion.

1807.

August.

Journal of  
major  
Heine-  
mann,  
5th line  
battalion,  
MSS.

The following day major-general sir Arthur Wellesley, who commanded the reserve, was sent with that corps and eight squadrons of cavalry, the sixth battalion, and the horse artillery of the legion, into the interior of the country for the purpose of dispersing a *levée en masse*, which, as well as some regular troops, were reported to be assembled in the neighbourhood of Kioge, under the command of the Danish general Oschenskiold.

Journal of  
the army,  
under lord  
Cathcart.

The reserve consisted of the forty-third, fifty-second, and ninety-second regiments under brigadier general Stewart, the first battalion ninety-fifth under colonel Beckwith, and captain Newhouse's battery

1807. of horse artillery; the cavalry force was made up  
August. of detachments from the legion hussars, the first  
and third regiments furnishing each three, and the  
second hussars two squadrons. The squadrons of  
the first and second hussars, one squadron of the  
third, the forty-third foot, five companies of the  
ninety-fifth, the sixth battalion, and half the horse  
artillery of the legion, were placed under the orders  
of major-general von Linsingen, (the infantry forming  
a brigade under colonel von Hohnstedt,) and formed  
the right of sir Arthur Wellesley's corps, from  
which, on the 28th, it was detached for the pur-  
pose of turning the enemy's left flank by Roeskilde,  
while sir Arthur proposed to attack him in front by  
the coast road to Kiøge.

Sir A. Wel-  
lesley's Re-  
port.

For this place both divisions marched on the  
morning of the 29th. Upon general Wellesley's  
approach, he found that the enemy was in force in  
front of the town, and the skirmishers of the third  
hussars, which formed his advance, were cannon-  
aded from a few guns which defended the front of  
the enemy's line; but these the British and German  
horse artillery soon caused to retire. The Danes  
had three or four regular battalions formed in one  
line, with cavalry on the flanks, and apparently a  
large body was beyond the town and rivulet which  
ran before it.

About nine o'clock, the time at which the two  
generals had agreed to make their concerted attack,  
sir Arthur Wellesley's corps deployed in one line,

the right of which was flanked by the two squadrons of the third hussars, under colonel von Reden, and the left by the sea. In this position sir Arthur remained for more than an hour, hoping to hear that general Linsingen had crossed the rivulet; but no communication arriving from that general, and the enemy appearing to be in motion on his left, sir Arthur Wellesley no longer delayed the attack, but advanced in echelon of battalions from the left, covered by the ninety-fifth riflemen and the fire of his artillery.

1807.

August.

Sir A. Wellesley's Report.

The ninety-second, under lieutenant-colonel Napier, led the attack, which was supported by the forty-third and fifty-second, and the enemy soon retired to an entrenchment which he had formed in front of a camp on the north side of Kioge.

This entrenchment the ninety-second prepared to storm, and the enemy made a disposition of his cavalry on the sands to charge them. Sir Arthur therefore moved colonel von Reden's hussars to the left flank, and placed the forty-third in second line, upon which the ninety-second carried the entrenchment, and the enemy retreated in disorder into the town.

Colonel von Reden now led forward his hussars; the ninety-fifth, and afterwards the whole of the infantry followed, and the enemy fled in all directions.

Upon crossing the rivulet sir Arthur Wellesley

1807. found general von Linsingen upon his right flank,  
 August. and both divisions now joined in pursuit of the  
 enemy.

General v.  
 Linsin-  
 gen's Re-  
 port.

The march of general Linsingen's division had been delayed by the difficulties which it experienced in crossing a rivulet between Gungard and Kioge. Much wood and a large morass rendered this impracticable at the one pass of Yderholm, and the bridge at the other pass of Littenge Garde had been broken down; and although the pioneers of the sixth battalion of the legion under the direction of brigade major Münter repaired this bridge with so much expertness that in twenty-five minutes the infantry were able to pass in single file, so much time elapsed before the division could move forward, that general Linsingen did not arrive at Kioge until the Danes were already in full retreat.

Journal of  
 major  
 Heise,  
 3d hussars,  
 MSS.

Although the Danish regular troops fled with precipitation, throwing away their arms and appointments, the new levies shewed much spirit. Some of these raw recruits fired upon the cavalry from the windows of the houses in Kioge, and suffered themselves to be bayoneted by the infantry; others took shelter behind the sheaves of corn in the fields, and from thence fired on their pursuers. The greater part of these were either cut down or made prisoners, but not without loss to the legion hussars. Lieutenants Rudorf of the first,

and Jansen\* of the third regiment were wounded, the former mortally; and sixteen men and twenty-two horses of both regiments were wounded; the third being the principal sufferers.

1807.

August.

Major-general von Linsingen now continued the pursuit with his cavalry and artillery; the latter, commanded by captain von Witzleben, was brought to bear upon a column of infantry that was retreating towards the shore, and the Danish artillery in vain attempted to prevent its destructive effects; meantime the cavalry under colonel Victor von Alten had taken eighteen waggons loaded with ammunition, arms, and accoutrements; soon after which major Plessen's squadron of the first hussars captured about fifty waggons carrying various stores, and the pursuit was continued without intermission.

General  
v. Linsin-  
gen's Re-  
port.

Major-general Oxholm, the second in command of the Danish troops, who had joined them the preceding evening from the southern islands, with four battalions, attempted to make a stand in the village of Herfolge. This place colonel Victor von Alten was ordered to attack, and while the horse artillery opened a fire upon the church-yard in which the enemy had collected, and some of the ninety-fifth riflemen assailed it in flank, colonel von Alten,

\* Lieutenant Jansen received a flattering letter, accompanied by a case of handsome pistols, from sir Arthur Wellesley, in token of his distinguished conduct on this day.

1807. lieutenant Schnüring, and sixteen of the second  
 August. hussars rapidly advanced, and major-general Ox-  
 holm, count Wedel Jarlsburg, several other officers,  
 and four hundred men laid down their arms. The  
 hussars had only one non-commissioned officer  
 killed, and one man and one horse wounded.

The cavalry and horse-artillery continued the  
 pursuit towards Soeder, where many prisoners were  
 made. General von Linsingen now moved this  
 part of his force, towards Giesler in order to press  
 upon the enemy's right flank, and observe his retreat,  
 of which soon losing sight, they were ordered to  
 fall back and unite with the ninety-fifth and ad-  
 vanced posts in covering sir Arthur Wellesley's  
 head-quarters at Kioge.

London  
 Gazette.

The loss of the Danes on this day was altogether  
 considerable. Many fell, and nearly sixty officers  
 and eleven hundred men were made prisoners.  
 The remainder of their army now crossed over to  
 the islands Laaland and Falster, and the British  
 were suffered to continue the investment of Copen-  
 hagen uninterrupted by any further movements in  
 the interior.

Journal of  
 the army  
 under lord  
 Cathcart.

Nearly all the British batteries had been finished  
 and two-thirds of the ordnance mounted, when,  
 about four o'clock on the morning of the 31st,  
 a sortie, commanded by general Peyman in per-  
 son, was made by the garrison, towards the  
 Glüsing garden, on the British right. Although  
 stopped by a piquet of the fiftieth regiment,

the Danes persevered for some time, but were finally repulsed by the piquets of the first division. Sir David Baird and the Danish general were both slightly wounded on this occasion.

1807.

Sept.

Journal of  
the army  
under lord  
Cathcart.

On the 1st September, the mortar batteries being nearly ready for action, lord Cathcart and admiral Gambier summoned the place. General Peyman requested a passport to enable him to obtain the decision of his Danish majesty; this was refused, and at half-past seven in the afternoon of the 2d of September, all the besiegers' batteries were opened upon Copenhagen.

The first general flight of shells set fire to the town in several places; but by the exertions of the inhabitants the flames were extinguished, and the fortress returned the fire of the batteries with vigour. The bombardment was thus continued for twelve hours without producing any overture on the part of the garrison; towards night, however, the fire grew slack, and that of the besiegers was consequently abated; but on the following morning the Danes threw a quantity of shells from the place, and the British batteries again poured destruction into the town. The flames again burst forth; the

Siege of  
Copenha-  
gen, &c.\*

\* The Siege of Copenhagen, or Documents comprehending an Official Detail of the Bombardment of that City, together with a Danish Narrative of the dreadful Calamities suffered by the Inhabitants in consequence thereof. By an Officer from Copenhagen. London, 1808.

1807. tower of the great church, which had been some  
 Sept. time on fire, fell with a dreadful crash, and spread  
 destruction around it; the fire engines, destroyed  
 by the shells and frequent use, now became un-  
 serviceable, and the people fled in terror to the  
 island of Amack, the road to which exhibited in-  
 describable scenes of horror and misery. Three  
 hundred and five houses and one church had now  
 been burnt to the ground, and the total demolition  
 of the city would have inevitably followed, had not  
 general Peyman sent out a flag of truce, requesting  
 an armistice of twenty-four hours, to afford time to  
 treat for a capitulation.

Lord Cath-  
 cart's des-  
 patch.

This proposition was declined by the British  
 commanders, as tending to produce unnecessary  
 delay, and the works were continued; but the  
 firing ceased, and lieutenant-colonel Murray, de-  
 puty-adjutant-general to the British army, was sent  
 to explain to the commandant that no proposal of  
 capitulation could be listened to unless it was ac-  
 companied by the surrender of the fleet.

This basis having been at length admitted, major-  
 general sir Arthur Wellesley, sir Home Popham, and  
 lieutenant-colonel Murray were appointed to meet  
 the Danish authorities, and propose the articles of  
 capitulation. These were drawn up on the night of  
 the 6th, and ratified by the respective commanders-  
 in-chief on the following day; and at four o'clock  
 in the afternoon of the 7th of September, lieute-



nant-general Burrard, who was second in command of the British army, took possession of the citadel. 1807.  
Sept.

During the siege, an effort was made by major-general Stricker, the commandant of Cronborg, to shake the allegiance of the German Legion, to whom, on the 4th, he addressed an insidious proclamation. "You, Hanoverians," it said, "we consider as innocent people, forced to accomplish the cruel commands of your government. But you will be the sacrifice; it is yet time to save your lives. Being Hanoverians, you are long since discharged from your duty and faith towards the treacherous government of England. Do not obey the commands of this inhuman and bloody ministry in order to subjugate an innocent nation. Let us associate ourselves together. The Danes will always receive you like friends. You will find the most secure refuge at Copenhagen or Cronborg. Hasten hither! The Danes, the faithful Danes, who will shew you kindness, security, and support, promise you in the most solemn manner, at the conclusion of the war, to lead you in safety to your native land." Siege of  
Copenha-  
gen, &c.

"Hanoverians! hearken to the voice of friendship and reason!" \* \* \* \* \*

But this effort of the Danish general was completely unsuccessful; for instead of the Danes gaining adherents from the legion, a considerable number of foreigners from various parts of the continent

1807. who had entered the Danish service to avoid the  
 October. conscription of Napoleon, now offered their services to the British, and were enrolled in the Hanoverian legion. By these means, not only were the deficiencies in the corps made up, but the establishment increased.\*

Lord Cathcart's despatch.

The capitulation required that the citadel should be restored to the Danes, and the British troops embarked, within six weeks from the day on which it had been ratified ; and no sort of infraction of the agreement having been made by the Danes, who acted most honourably in the strict fulfilment of their engagement, the British commander decided upon commencing the embarkation of the army.

Accordingly, on the 13th of October, the eight line battalions of the legion, and on the following day the two light battalions, were embarked at the arsenal. The shipment of the cavalry and artillery

\* The following strong illustration of German honesty, which occurred during the siege, is mentioned in the Journal of major Heise of the third hussars, and appears not unworthy of record.

On one of the British attacks upon the suburb, this officer, then a lieutenant, was posted with twenty-two men of the regiment in front of an apothecary's shop, where also spirits were sold. For this part of his stock in trade the apothecary found several customers among the hussars, but the continued discharge of grape from the citadel much disturbed the circulation of the glass. Still more, it might be supposed, would it have interfered with the after process of remuneration. This, however, was most conscientiously performed, and notwithstanding the uninterrupted fire from the citadel, the Germans were to be seen most methodically drawing out their purses, and presenting the apothecary with the value of his drams.

followed, and by the 21st the whole army was under weigh for England, accompanied by the Danish fleet. 1807.  
October.

The appearance of this immense armament,—one thousand sail, among which were forty-five line-of-battle ships, fifteen frigates, and numerous other smaller vessels of war of various descriptions,—crowding with swelling canvass into the narrow passage of the Sound, was a grand and imposing spectacle. The king of Sweden stood on the shore at Helsingborg as the British pendants passed, and each ship of war saluted his majesty with a discharge of twenty-one guns.

But the fair wind, which at starting filled their sails, changed to an adverse gale when the fleet entered the Categat, and increased during the night of the 22d to such a degree, that on the following morning not more than three or four vessels were to be seen together, the rest being scattered in various directions over the German ocean. Narrative  
of major  
Heise,  
MSS.

The weather continued tempestuous for several days; at length the fleet, after having been driven about the North Sea for more than a week, re-united at Yarmouth. Unfortunately, there were no orders for the troops to be landed here, and on the 8th of November the transports were again under weigh for their destinations of Portsmouth and Ramsgate.

But the elements continued to oppose their return: an adverse and violent gale again separated

1807. the fleet, and this second storm brought with it the  
November. most fatal consequences to the Hanoverians.

Narrative  
of major  
Heise,  
MSS.

One transport, containing twenty-six men and horses of the third hussars, struck, during the night, upon the Goodwin sands, and sprung a leak. The pumps soon became choked, and the water rising rapidly in the vessel, all clung to the masts, despairing of succour. The master, seeing that there was no chance of saving his ship, conceived the design of escaping with the sailors, and leaving the hussars and horses to their fate; he accordingly had the boat lowered down, and succeeded in getting into her, with four of his crew, and putting off from the vessel unobserved by the soldiers. When but a short distance off, they were perceived by the hussars, some of whom attempted to jump into the boat; but of these only two reached her and were saved, while the transport going down on the sands, took with her the rest of those who had been left behind.

Another small transport, with eighteen horses of the same regiment on board, was run foul of by an East Indiaman, which carried away the entire stern of the transport, and scarcely had the people escaped in the boats, when the vessel, with all the horses, went down.

The horses and baggage of two transports of the second hussars, as well as a gallant officer of the same regiment, captain Ludolphus Baring, also

perished; the Hope transport, with forty sick on board, was also lost; another transport, called the Eagle, on board of which were eight officers, a hundred and seventy-two non-commissioned officers and soldiers, and the chaplain, with his wife and children, of the first line battalion, was never heard of after the gale, and is supposed to have gone down in the Queen's channel. Nearly three companies of the same regiment, under lieutenant-colonel von Ompteda, only escaped shipwreck to fall into captivity, and their perils are worthy of detail. These troops were embarked in the Augustus Cæsar transport, which, in the night of the 27th October, came into violent contact with the ship of war Inflexible, of sixty-four guns. The bowsprit of the man-of-war bearing down upon the larboard side of the transport, passed through her main chains, and carried away her mainmast; the masts, yards, and rigging of both vessels then got foul of each other, and the smaller ship, thus entangled, became exposed to the tremendous thumping of the man-of-war, which threatened soon to reduce her to a wreck. Every effort was made on both sides to get clear, but the darkness of the night and the heavy sea rendered this extremely difficult, and nearly an hour had passed before the vessels could be disengaged. Meantime five of the officers,\* and about a hundred non-commissioned officers and men of the legion,

1807.

November.

Appendix  
No. VI.Loss of the  
Augustus  
Cæsar,  
transport,  
MSS.

\* Captain Laroche, Lieutenants von Borstel, Schlütter, Heine, and Ompteda.

1807. ventured to attempt escaping from the transport into  
November. the Inflexible. This was a hazardous experiment,

Loss of the  
Augustus  
Caesar  
transport,  
MSS.

as well in consequence of the violent concussion of the vessels, as of the number of spars that were falling about; however, although many were wounded, with the exception of one man, the whole gained the deck of the ship.

By this time the transport presented a deplorable appearance. Of her three masts, the foremast alone remained standing; large breaches down to the very edge of the water had been made in both her sides; twelve out of fourteen guns which she carried had been either torn away, or forced through the deck into the hold; her boats were driven from their fastenings and damaged, and the whole of her bulwark had been carried away.

Thus disabled, she was totally incapable of following the fleet, which on the morning of the 30th was completely out of sight, and the wind coming on to blow a gale from the westward on the following day, she was driven before it towards the coast of Holland. Land was first seen on the morning of the 31st, and now the apprehension arose that the ship might be dashed upon the beach, for they could find no holding ground at sufficient distance from the coast to be secured against a land attack, and the vessel had drifted within half gunshot of the shore, before she could be brought to anchor.

The sea broke over her with violence, and it

did not seem probable that her shattered hull would hold much longer together; at noon, however, the gale subsided, and some hope of safety was entertained. But now came the perils of the land, for the Dutch, having descried the vessel, had brought down a few guns to the shore, and from these soon opened a fire upon the luckless transport. The English signal of distress was then made, which caused the firing to be for a time suspended, but towards evening it was resumed, and continued until the master of the transport had been made by signal to understand that he was required to hoist a lantern at the mast head, which being done, the firing ceased, and the vessel, which had received but little additional injury from the ill directed shots, was left unmolested until morning. A Dutch naval officer then came off to the transport, and demanded the surrender of all on board as prisoners of war. Colonel von Ompteda felt that he had no alternative but to submit to this requisition, and his whole force, amounting to nine officers, and more than two hundred non-commissioned officers and soldiers, were, together with the crew of the vessel, disembarked and marched to the Hague, from which the landing place was about six miles distant.\* They were to have

1807.

November.

Loss of the  
Augustus  
Cæsar  
transport,  
MSS.

\* The men were afterwards removed to the fortress of Löwenstein, and the officers placed on their parole at Gorcum. The latter were exchanged, and returned to England in the following spring; but the non-commissioned officers and soldiers, being principally natives of those provinces which formed the new kingdom of Westphalia, were obliged

1807. retained their baggage, but the boats being occupied  
November. till night-fall with the disembarkation of the men,  
its removal could not be attempted before morning,  
and then the vessel was no longer visible; for the  
wind getting up in the night, her destruction had  
been completed.

Calamitous as were many of the disasters which  
befel the legion on the return of this expedi-  
tion, they were all far exceeded by those which  
attended the loss of the transport Salisbury.

Narrative  
of Dr.  
Rathje,  
MSS.

This vessel, containing the greater part of the  
second line battalion, had been separated from the  
fleet on the night of the 22d of October, and  
reached Yarmouth on the 8th of November, just as  
the other ships had got under weigh. Her provi-  
sions were nearly exhausted, oatmeal being almost  
the only article of subsistence left; still the master  
thought it better to follow the fleet, and continuing  
his course, brought the vessel on the 10th, close  
under Margate, where several otherships had already  
anchored. But now he became apprehensive of  
coming in contact with some of these, and fearing  
also to approximate an unsheltered coast during such  
tempestuous weather, stood out to sea.

Between eight and nine o'clock in the evening,  
the helmsman, mistaking the light ship on a bank  
called the Kentish Knock, for one of the vessels of

to enter the service of king Jerome. From his rule, however, the greater  
part took the first opportunity of emancipating themselves.



the fleet, ran the transport direct upon the bank, against which she struck with violence. The passengers, alarmed at the sound, hurried upon deck, from which the breakers were too visible, and the vessel would inevitably have foundered, had not a heavy sea carried her off the bank, and again set her afloat. But the rudder had sprung, and the vessel leaked. Cartridges were now sought for to fire signals of distress, but the powder magazine had filled with water, and a few only were found serviceable. With these, however, some signals were fired, and they were answered by blue lights from several vessels that were near at hand ; but the night was too dark and the gale too violent to admit of any boats putting off, and no hope of assistance could be entertained before morning.

The injury to the rudder had rendered the vessel quite unmanageable, and she lay completely at the mercy of the wind and waves. For some time the captain tried, by crowding all his sail, to reach the French coast, but it was found impossible, and about midnight he anchored in twenty-three fathom water. The pumps were at work incessantly, and became often choked, and the soldiers were then obliged to bail out the water from the hold in their caps ; in fact the vessel was alone kept afloat by the unceasing and strenuous exertions of the men.

The small supply of ammunition which had been rescued from the water in the magazine having been exhausted, resource was had to the cartridges

1807.  
November.  
Narrative  
of Dr.  
Rathje,  
MSS.

1807. of the soldiers for keeping up the firing of signals  
November. of distress. For this purpose the men had brought  
nearly all their pouches upon deck; and two guns  
were loaded from the supply. Unfortunately, however,  
on the guns being fired, a portion of the ignited cartridge paper, blown by the wind upon some loose powder, set fire to the whole stock of ammunition, and in a moment from twenty to thirty pouches flew into the air. Lieutenant von Hodenberg and nine men were more or less injured by this explosion.

Narrative  
of Dr.  
Rathje,  
MSS.

A ship now appeared in sight, and some of the sailors attempted to put off to her in the skiff, but no sooner had this craft been lowered down, when a sea, dashing it against the ship's side, shattered her to pieces, and those who had entrusted their lives to the frail protection, all went down, filling the air with their cries.

The vessel dragging on her larboard anchor, and being much driven about by the sea, the ballast shifted towards this side, and made it necessary for the larboard gallery and guns to be cut away and thrown overboard. The same would willingly have been done with the masts, had not the weight of their fall been dreaded, as on whichever side they might happen to come, the weight would, in all probability, have brought the vessel under. The cable was now cut, and the ship again abandoned to the fury of the elements. Some empty water-casks and spare planks, which had been lashed to the

side, alone kept her above water; whoever let go his hold fell instantly overboard, and many an unfortunate was heard to cry for help, and the next moment seen to sink for ever.

1807.  
November.  
Narrative  
of Dr.  
Rathje,  
MSS.

At length day broke, and vessels appearing at a short distance off, hope was rekindled in the minds of the sufferers; but the violent squalls prevented any ship from approaching the Salisbury, and gave all full employment in providing for their own safety. About ten o'clock, however, the weather seemed disposed to moderate, and one vessel came so near that it was resolved to send off the jolly boat, and implore her assistance. Captain Scharnhorst, two soldiers, and two of the crew of the Salisbury embarked in this boat, and reached the vessel; but a violent squall then came on, and no effort to assist their comrades could be made while it lasted. The situation of the Salisbury was now so perilous, that the destruction of those on board appeared inevitable; the sailors, therefore, lowered down the long boat, and all rushed forward to seek refuge in it. Lieutenants von Wenkster and Magens, forty-three soldiers, one woman and child, and the master and twelve of the crew of the transport succeeded in getting in, after which the rope was cut, and the boat, unprovided with either oars or rudder, drifted off at the mercy of the waves. The other vessel now bore up towards the boat, and as she was driven past her, threw out a rope, but it fell short of the

1807. object ; a second and a third time this was attempted, but with equal ill luck, and the last hope of the sufferers appeared to have been extinguished, for the master of the vessel was unwilling to make any further effort for their preservation. A few bold and generous soldiers, however, came to their relief. Major Robertson, who with part of the eighth English infantry was on board the vessel, seeing that the master of the transport declined making any farther exertion to save the people in the boat, energetically appealed to his own men on behalf of their brother soldiers. Several officers and men immediately came forward ; from these the best rowers were chosen, and they gallantly put off in the jolly boat, and endeavoured to convey a rope to the boat of the Salisbury. This rope proved too short, and was obliged to be twice lengthened before it would reach the boat, keeping the sufferers in the most painful suspense ; at length the brave soldiers succeeded in accomplishing their humane object, and both boats were hauled up to the transport, which now bore away towards the Salisbury.

Narrative  
of Dr.  
Rathje,  
MSS.

On nearing the vessel major Robertson sought to cheer the unfortunate people on board, who had despaired of receiving help, by calling out to them, " you will all be saved," which they answered with a grateful hurrah !

Four men of the legion now jumped into the long boat and put off to the Salisbury, but the wind again increased, and rendered their approach dangerous ;

the boat reached, however, the stern of the vessel, 1807.  
and surgeon Rathje, the quarter-master sergeant, November.  
two soldiers, and the mate were enabled to jump Narrative  
into her; but the transport was fast sinking, and of Dr.  
to have remained longer near her would have en- Rathje,  
dangered the boat, which was obliged immediately MSS.  
to be got away. With the preservation of these  
five persons, therefore, their gallant comrades were  
obliged to be satisfied, and scarce had they pulled  
off, and ensured the safety of the boat, when the  
Salisbury went down. Nine officers, two hundred Appendix,  
and twelve men, thirty women, and five children No. VI.  
perished with this transport. The entire casualties  
of the legion in the expedition amounted to one  
thousand one hundred and seventy-five, of which  
thirty-six were officers, and the drowned alone  
numbered two hundred and twenty-six !

1807..

December.

## CHAPTER IX.

THE effects of the late gale could be traced along the whole south-eastern coast of England, scarce a harbour in the circuit of which but bore some evidence of its fury. The transports that escaped landed their troops at the different ports in which they had found shelter, and the scattered detachments then proceeded to join their respective regiments.

The first and second hussars were re-assembled at Weymouth; the third at Deal; the light infantry at Hastings and Battle, and the first, second, fifth, and seventh line battalions at Bexhill. Of the other four line regiments, but a small part had landed, when they were again ordered to embark, and with the third foot battery of artillery, to join an expedition then about to sail for the Tagus, under the command of major-general Spencer: the rest of the artillery again occupied Porchester.

General Spencer's corps was intended ultimately for the Mediterranean, but in its way out was to support sir Charles Cotton in an attack upon the Russian fleet then in the Tagus, and thus facilitate the emigration of the prince regent of Portugal to the Brazils. About one half of this corps consisted of

German troops; namely, the third, fourth, sixth, 1807. and eighth line battalions of the legion under December. brigadiers du Plat and von Hohnstedt, and the third foot battery of artillery under captain Bussman; captains Appuhn and Berensbach, of the legion engineers, also accompanied the expedition.

On the 20th of December the fleet left Portsmouth for the rock of Lisbon, and on the 31st had reached the Bay of Biscay, when they encountered a gale of wind, which, continuing with little intermission until the fifth of January, obliged the greater part of the fleet to put back to England. About twenty transports, however, among which were the third line battalion, part of the sixth, and the artillery of the legion, had reached their destination on the 13th; but Lisbon was by this time in possession of the French, and these vessels were obliged to cruize about for a week at the mouth of the Tagus, not knowing for what part of the world they were ultimately intended. At length on the 19th the signal was made for Gibraltar, where they anchored on the 23d; from hence, on the 5th of February, they were ordered to proceed to Sicily; but just as their ships were about to get under weigh in compliance with this order, they were all thrown into confusion by a sudden burst of wind in the bay, which drove them about in all directions, forcing the vessels from their moorings, and against each other, to such an extent that much damage was done, and the weather continuing tempestuous,

Journal of  
3d line  
battalion,  
MSS.

1808. it was some days before they were again ready  
February. for sea.

Journal of  
3d line  
battalion,  
MSS.

On the 11th all but five transports got under weigh; these came up on the 15th, and the whole, after having been once more dispersed by a squall in the night of the 24th, anchored in the bay of Palermo on the 1st of March.

But the voyage and its accompanying bad weather had not yet ended. On the 6th the transports were ordered to proceed to Syracuse, and another gale of wind overtaking them, kept the troops at sea for fourteen days more; this was the fourth time these vessels had been dispersed since their departure from England, and now, just as they were about to enter the harbour of Syracuse on the 21st, their destination was changed to Messina. Here, however, they arrived without impediment, and the troops were at length landed on the evening of the 24th.

The transports which had put back to England, having waited a favourable change of weather there, were more fortunate. The fourth, eighth, and remainder of the sixth battalion of the legion sailed from Falmouth on the 21st of February, arrived at Gibraltar on the 10th of March, and landed at Messina on the 6th of April.

Sicily was at this time threatened with invasion by a French force, which, under the command of Murat, occupied the opposite continent of Calabria, and the German regiments were employed in



guarding the coast, furnishing the garrisons, and fulfilling the various duties attendant upon the constant state of preparation in which the island was necessarily maintained. 1808.  
February.

To these monotonous but fatiguing duties we will for the present leave this part of the corps, and proceed to detail the operations of those regiments to whom fortune allotted a more brilliant career.

Another armament for the assistance of Sweden had been fitted out in England, and the third hussars, under colonel von Reden, the light infantry brigade under colonel von Alten, the first and second line brigades under colonels von Langwerth and Driberg, and the first and fourth foot batteries of artillery of the legion under major Hartmann, were united with seven battalions and four batteries of British ; the whole of which, under the command of sir John Moore, were ordered to proceed to Gothenburg. Narrative  
of major  
Heise,  
MSS.

The expedition sailed from Yarmouth on the 10th of May, and after a prosperous voyage anchored in the harbour of Gothenburg on the 18th. But no operation was after all attempted ; for a difference of opinion arose between his Swedish majesty and the British commander as to the plan of proceeding, and after a tiresome sojourn of six weeks on ship-board, the troops were ordered to return to England.

During the latter part of this period the heat of the weather was excessive, and the horses of the

1808. hussars being confined to the transports, suffered  
 June. much;\* the officers of the legion, however, endeavoured to lighten the wearisomeness of their stay by every expedient of which their situation admitted, and were not unsuccessful. Lobster fishing, which is to be had here in great perfection, offered a never failing resource to the aquatic sportsmen; and so many betook themselves to the sport, that the army were more than abundantly provided with this delicacy during their stay. Sailing about and exploring the different creeks and inlets on the coast, was also productive of much amusement, and brought many a novel and interesting object to their notice. Nature has been here so little bountiful, that it is with the greatest difficulty the poor inhabitants can find a spot fit for cultivation, and many, in order to provide themselves with

Narrative  
 of major  
 Heise,  
 MSS.

\* To those of our readers who may be unacquainted with the manner in which these unfortunate animals are disposed of on board a transport, the subjoined detail will, perhaps, be acceptable.

A horse transport contains, according to its size, from eighteen to forty horses, which are placed close together across the hold, with their heads towards the centre, where is a wooden trough for the reception of forage. Small upright posts are fixed between their heads, which are fastened on each side by short ropes, in order to prevent them from lying down, and their chests and haunches are covered by sheepskins, to save them from being stripped by the rolling of the vessel. This closely packed stable is ventilated by means of sacks, which hang from the deck into the main hatchway; but in still or warm weather this is of little service, and the animals then suffer extremely from the oppression of the atmosphere. If a long voyage be anticipated, the horses are generally slung by tackles, to prevent them from resting on their legs, which expedient enables them to bear the confinement with less inconvenience.

gardens, had brought earth from the more fertile places and formed an artificial soil upon the naked rock. Excursions to these curious spots passed away many an evening, and the party being provided with the means of organizing a pick-nick supper, and often accompanied by music, the repast was served between the rocks; the band then struck up, to the wonder and delight of the fishermen and maidens, who cheerfully joined in the dance which followed.

1808.

July.

Narrative  
of major  
Heise,  
MSS.

From this tranquil scene the troops departed on the 3d of July, when the fleet sailed for England, and on the 21st all were again at Spithead.

Meantime the English government had determined upon opposing the rapid strides of Napoleon in the Spanish peninsula. Sir Arthur Wellesley, with nine thousand men, had sailed from Cork, and a second expedition was about to sail from England. To this it was intended to add Sir John Moore's army; and the legion transports, without landing either men or horses, were ordered immediately to provision for another voyage: the second foot battery of the corps was also embarked.

The necessary preparations were not completed before the 31st, when the fleet, consisting of a hundred and sixty eight transports, and four ships of war, sailed from St. Helen's, its destination being Vigo Bay.

1808. An officer of the third hussars has thus graphi-

August. cally described the progress of the fleet:—

“ There is something imposing in the appearance of a large fleet of transports under full sail. The mass of troop-ships in the centre—the accompanying men-of-war ranged in front, rear, and on the flanks, and the whole advancing under the safe guidance of the commodore with all the order of an army marching across a vast plain! Towards evening is heard the signal for re-assembling the ships, and those whose bad sailing has prevented them from keeping up with the rest, come slowly and orderly to their proper stations. Then, should it fall calm, not an unfrequent occurrence at the close of a summer’s day, the vessels are seen fixed, as it were, like houses on the glassy surface of the deep. The sun majestically descends into the vast mirror which has reflected his image, and just as the last mild rays of the cheering planet have faded from our view, and a profound stillness reigns, the evening guns burst forth their simultaneous signals from the men-of-war, whose mingled music, wafted in doubtful harmony throughout the fleet, closes this magic scene.”

The Bay of Biscay next called forth the wonder of the legion. “ Here,” writes another officer of the corps, “ the waves rolling in slow succession rise mountains high. The approach of one of such waves threatens you with instant destruction, but

in a moment the vessel is elevated upon its summit, from whence, as from the top of a high tower, the whole fleet is visible before you. Scarcely is this sight developed, when you sink into a frightful abyss, from whence no traces of the former objects are to be distinguished, and you rise again to witness a repetition of the same scene.”

1808.

August.

The fleet assembled before Vigo Bay on the 17th; but sir Arthur Wellesley's operations had caused its destination to be changed to the Mondego, for which river it sailed the same evening.

Narrative  
of major  
Heise,  
MSS.

The transports coasted along the beautiful Portuguese shore of the Entre Douro e Minho with a favourable wind; but in the night of the 19th a fog arose which caused much inconvenience. The atmosphere became suddenly so dense, that in order to prevent the ships from running foul of each other, it was found necessary to fix lanterns to their mizen masts, and this precaution not proving sufficient, recourse was had to the blowing of horns. This doleful music, by means of which each vessel proclaimed her position, was kept up unceasingly throughout the whole of the night; but notwithstanding its continuance, several vessels were, in the morning, found entangled in each other's rigging, and one transport containing the first foot-battery of the legion artillery was so much injured as to be obliged to return to Portsmouth.\*

\* This vessel did not land her troops at Lisbon until the 8th of September.

1808.

August.

Narrative  
of major  
Heise,  
MSS.

On the 21st the fleet reached the mouth of the Mondego river, and the disembarkation of the troops was commenced on the following morning; but meantime the battle of Vimeiro had been gained by sir Arthur Wellesley, and sir J. Moore's army was therefore ordered to land at Maceira Bay. The regiments already on shore were consequently re-shipped, and the whole getting under weigh the same evening, anchored at the embouchure of the little river Maceira on the 23d and 24th.

The landing here, which began on the 25th, was extremely difficult, and attended with considerable danger. The weather was tempestuous, and a tremendous surf broke upon the high shore. Many boats were swamped, and the comparatively few casualties that occurred may be principally ascribed to the intrepid and indefatigable exertions of the navy. The English sailors, stimulated by the example of their officers, were seen wading up to their shoulders in the sea, and hauling in the boats as they were driven ashore by the surf. The horses of the third hussars, which had been seventeen weeks on ship-board, and were now obliged to swim ashore, could with difficulty reach the land. Often was an unfortunate animal, after having been cast upon the beach by one wave and unable immediately to get on his legs, borne back by the next into the sea, and again cast ashore to be driven from it in the same manner. Several horses were thus lost. Forty had already died or had been

shot for glanders produced by their confinement on board the transports; the greater part of those which landed were found lame and unfit for immediate service, and when the regiment came to be mustered, scarce half of its original numbers was fit to take the field.

1808.

August.

Narrative  
of major  
Heise,  
MSS.

These difficulties so much protracted the disembarkation of the troops, that it was not until the evening of the 29th that the whole of the legion regiments had been landed.

In consequence of the exhausted state in which the horses of the hussars reached the shore, that regiment was unable to accomplish an ordinary march, and bivouacked about three miles from the landing place. The spot chosen was a small flat, nearly surrounded by high rocks, through which ran a little rivulet. The weary hussars laid down to sleep with all the satisfaction which the consciousness of being again on *terra firma* after a long voyage invariably creates, and confidently anticipated undisturbed and refreshing slumbers; but scarcely had they passed an hour in this position, when they were suddenly awakened by a violent torrent of rain which burst upon them as if from a water-spout.

Although thus exposed, the weary soldiers would not give up the intention with which they had commenced the night, and covering themselves with their cloaks and blankets, were soon again in a sound sleep.

1808. But the enclosed nature of the bivouac formed a  
August. reservoir for the rain, and towards midnight it had  
Narrative of major Heise, MSS. so accumulated that the most determined sleepers could no longer tolerate their position, all being literally lying in water. A general stir therefore took place, and most fortunately; for by this time articles of every description were floating about the bivouac. Saddles, accoutrements, clothing, &c. mixed up with each other in all directions. Now arose a general anxiety regarding personal effects. The darkness of the night added to the confusion, and to restore order among the unruly articles of equipment became difficult in the extreme. Suddenly, however, the rain ceased, and the accumulated water running off soon after, each man collected his drenched accoutrements, and with the aid of a large fire made them tolerably dry.

Then were the troops first aware that the little rivulet, of whose waters they had drank with so much gratification on the preceding evening, was the last depository of many of those who had fallen at the late battle of Vimeiro.

On the 28th, the hussars marched to Torres Vedras, and the light infantry brigade and second battery of artillery moved the same day into a hut-camp on the other side of Vimeiro, where, on the 29th, they were joined by the four line battalions. The two remaining batteries of artillery also joined the army, and the whole then moved towards, and were stationed in the neighbourhood of Lisbon.



The battle of Vimeiro was followed by the convention of Cintra and the evacuation of Portugal by the French, and the English government now decided upon sending an army into Spain in order to aid the patriotic exertions of the Spaniards against the invaders of their country. Thirty thousand infantry and five thousand cavalry, ten thousand of which were to be sent from England to Corunna under sir David Baird, and the rest drafted from the army in Lisbon, were to be employed in the north of Spain under the command of lieutenant-general sir John Moore.

1808.

October.

*Napier's  
History of  
the War in  
the Penin-  
sula.*

The third hussars and light infantry brigade of the legion formed part of the corps which marched from Lisbon, where the two line brigades and artillery remained, the latter giving up all their serviceable horses to the British artillery.

The army marched from Lisbon towards the latter end of October by four different roads, Burgos being the point of concentration. The main body of the infantry, under the immediate orders of the commander-in-chief, took the direct roads north of the Tagus; that of the cavalry and artillery, under sir John Hope, the more circuitous routes of Badajoz and Talavera.

The light brigade of the legion under colonel von Alten (now promoted to the rank of brigadier-general) formed, with general Anstruther's English brigade, the advanced division, which was commanded by the honourable major-general Edward Paget.

*Journal of  
majorRau-  
tenberg,  
MSS.*

1808. One troop of the third hussars under captain von dem Bussche accompanied this division; the remainder, effective, of the regiment under major von Burgwedel\* marched with the 18th English dragoons under brigadier-general Charles Stewart. This brigade formed the entire cavalry of the corps that marched from Lisbon, and did not muster a thousand horses, for many men and horses of both regiments were unable to march; the third in particular had suffered severely from the long confinement on ship board,† and one hundred and forty men and a hundred and twenty-five horses of that regiment were obliged to be left behind at Belem under captain Meyer, who had also the charge of the non-effectives of the eighteenth. Of the legion engineer-corps, captain Meinecke only accompanied this expedition.

October.  
Narrative  
of major  
Heise,  
MSS.

Great expectations having been raised among the troops both as to the enthusiasm of the Spaniards in their resistance to the French, and their grateful and friendly feeling towards the British, they were not a little surprised and disappointed at finding, when they had crossed the frontier, no demonstration of either feeling. Hundreds of able-bodied men passed the columns with indifference on their march, or, wrapped in their dark mantles, stood

\* Ill health had obliged colonel von Reden to return to England.

† The men were principally affected with dysentery, and the horses in the feet; the latter to such a degree, that many lost their hoofs altogether.  
*Journal of Dr. Grosskopf, third hussars, MSS.*

stupidly gazing on them in the market-places; and their reception at the houses of the inhabitants shewed an equal absence of any of those noble sentiments for which the "patriots," as they were called, had been so much lauded. 1808.  
October.

On the 19th, the wreck of Blake's army, which had been completely discomfited at Espinosa on the 11th, and finally disorganized at Reynosa on the 13th, crossed the march of Sir John Hope's division, flying in all directions. Napier.

On the 23d, the centre of the British army, consisting of twelve thousand infantry, and a battery of six guns, was concentrated at Salamanca; detachments of the French had already arrived at Valladolid, and the light brigade of the legion, accompanied by captain von dem Bussche's troop, was sent out to observe the road to that town. Journal of  
majorRau-  
tenberg,  
MSS.

On the 26th, the head of sir John Hope's column entered the Escorial, but that of sir David Baird, having been delayed in its advance from Corunna by the deception and neglect of the Spanish authorities, had not reached farther than Astorga. Napier.

Sir John Moore was at this time aware that the enemy's force could not be less than eighty thousand men, and that thirty thousand more were expected, and might have arrived;—that the Spanish generals, Blake and Belvidere, had been totally defeated; and that in all probability the little British corps would have to bear singly the combined

1808. efforts of the whole French force. He would,  
November. therefore, have been perfectly justified in not ex-  
Napier. posing his army to such an unequal combat, and at  
once commencing his retreat; but he was unwilling  
to abandon the cause which he had come to sup-  
port while a shadow of hope remained of his being  
able to serve it, and believing that the Spanish  
army of Castanos still kept the field, he proposed  
to rally it upon his own corps.

But on the 23d Castanos was totally defeated at  
Tudela, and this design became impracticable.  
Sir John Moore therefore decided upon withdraw-  
ing his troops, and falling back upon Portugal as  
soon as general Hope's division should have joined  
him.

Madrid, however, still held out, and promised a  
vigorous resistance, and Zaragossa and Toledo made  
equally imposing professions. These encouraging  
circumstances, together with the plausible repre-  
sentations and assurances of the Spanish authorities,  
and a generous solicitude for the honour of England,  
induced sir John Moore to give up his intention of  
falling back, and to decide upon venturing a forward  
movement.

He resolved to throw himself upon the commu-  
nications of the French army, and hoped by thus  
drawing its whole force upon himself, to relieve  
the southern provinces of Spain, succour Madrid,  
and give the Spaniards time to recover courage,  
and organize their defences.

The capital of Spain held out but one day—still 1808.  
 sir John Moore was determined to advance: the December.  
 movement might, he thought, operate as a diversion, Napier.  
 and while a possibility of serving the Spanish  
 cause appeared, he was resolved not to abandon it.

Preparations for a retreat upon Portugal were,  
 however, continued, and sir David Baird was or-  
 dered to form magazines at Benavente, Astorga,  
 Villafranca, and Lugo, by which arrangement two  
 lines of operation were secured: officers were also  
 sent to examine the roads and harbours of Galicia,  
 and small magazines were established on the line  
 of Orense and Vigo.

After skilfully evading the enemy's watchfulness,  
 general Hope effected his junction with sir John  
 Moore at Salamanca on the 4th, and on the 12th  
 the army commenced its march upon Valladolid.

Previous to leaving Salamanca, the two light Journal of  
 major Rau-  
 tenberg,  
 MSS.  
 battalions of the legion were ordered to form an  
 independent brigade under brigadier-general von  
 Alten, as were the first battalions of the 95th, 43d,  
 and 52d, under colonel Robert Craufurd.

At Alaejos, where head-quarters arrived on the Napier.  
 13th, an intercepted despatch was brought in, which  
 changed the direction of the march. It was ad-  
 dressed to the duke of Dalmatia, and directed him  
 to drive the Spaniards into Galicia, to occupy  
 Leon, Benavente, and Zamora, and to keep the  
 flat country in subjection: a chance, therefore, ap-  
 peared of the British being able to surprise and

1808. beat Soult before Napoleon could come to his suc-  
December. cour, and in furtherance of this object sir John  
Napier. Hope passed the Douro at Tordesillas, directing  
his march upon Villepando. Head-quarters were  
removed to Toro, and Valderas was given as the  
point of junction to general Baird's division, the  
head of which was now at Benavente.

On the 18th, head-quarters were at Castro Nuevo,  
and from hence sir John Moore, having heard  
that the marquis of Romana, although aware of  
the advance of the British, was retiring into Gal-  
licia, wrote to inform that general of his intention  
to fall upon Soult, desired his co-operation, and  
requested that he would abide by his original plan  
of reserving the Asturias for his line of communi-  
cation, and leave the Gallicias open to the British.

On the 20th, the whole of the British forces,  
consisting of two thousand two hundred and  
seventy-eight cavalry, nineteen thousand and fifty-  
three infantry, and sixty pieces of artillery, were  
united. The cavalry were at Melgar Abaxo, the  
infantry at Majorga: four batteries of artillery were  
attached to the infantry, two to the cavalry, and  
one was kept in reserve.

On this day lord Paget, with four hundred of  
the 15th hussars, obtained a brilliant triumph over  
six hundred of the French cavalry at Sahagun,  
taking one hundred and fifty-four men prisoners,  
among whom were two lieutenant-colonels, and  
eleven other officers. Sahagun was on the following

day occupied by the British troops, and here they 1808.  
halted, having outmarched their supplies. December.

The legion regiments, however, which had been Journal of  
3d hussars,  
MSS.  
acting independently, were pushed forward towards Carrion, and on the 21st, the third hussars occupied the village of Pozurama, about fifteen miles from that place.

Meantime Soult was here concentrating his in- Napier.  
fantry, and sir John Moore resolved to surprise him. He proposed moving by a night-march, so as to arrive at Carrion by daylight on the 24th, to force the bridge there, ascend the river, and then fall upon the main body of the enemy at Saldaña.

The surprise was peculiarly entrusted to General Hope's division, which, marching from Villada, was, after forcing the bridge of Carrion, to unite with a second column, coming from Sahagun, under major-general Frazer, and Romana was expected to co-operate on the left.

The light infantry brigade of the legion, under Journal of  
major Rau-  
tenberg,  
MSS.  
brigadier-general von Alten, was selected to form the advanced guard of general Hope's division,\* and at nine o'clock on the night of the 23d of December, the right column left Villada. The air

\* The cheering effect which this notification produced throughout the brigade was conspicuous. The sick and baggage had been ordered to be left behind at Villada; but out of thirty-two men of the brigade who might have taken advantage of this order, twenty-four reported themselves fit to march. *Journal of major Rautenberg, MSS.*

1808. was bitter cold : the wide plain over which the line  
December. of march lay was covered with snow, and a chilling sleet fell at intervals : the open ground allowing the column to march upon an extended front, it advanced in the greatest order and stillness, and all looked confidently forward to the result of the contest which daylight was expected to bring forth.



## CHAPTER X.

It was midnight—the light brigade of the legion had already arrived near Pozurama, and the third hussars were drawn out in front of this village, when suddenly the column was ordered to halt, the advanced guard to occupy the village in its front, and the main body forthwith to countermarch upon Villada.

1808.

December.

Journal of  
major Rau-  
tenberg,  
MSS.

This unexpected arrangement for a retrograde movement had been caused by the receipt at headquarters of a despatch from the marquis of Romana, which stated that the French were in motion on the side of Madrid. This intelligence was confirmed by the British general's spies, and all reports agreed in affirming that the whole French army was in motion to crush the British. The main objects of sir John Moore's advance were, therefore, attained, and it now remained for him to complete his hardy enterprize by a timely retreat. Orders had been, consequently, sent to countermand the advance of the army, and the column which had already commenced its march was directed to retrace its steps.

Napier.

Agreeably to the intentions which had been com-

1808. municated to general Alten, the light battalions  
 December. of the legion took up a position at Pozurama  
 Journal of before day-break. At ten o'clock these regiments  
 majorRau- followed the retreat of the main body to Villada,  
 tenberg, MSS. which they found evacuated; for general Hope was  
 already on the road to Majorga.

Napier. Two divisions of the army marched under general  
 Hope, and were to cross the Esla at the bridge of  
 Castro Gonzalo, opposite Benavente; another  
 column, under sir David Baird, was directed to the  
 ferry of Valencia de San Juan, and the cavalry,  
 reserve, and flank brigades remained behind to cover  
 these movements.

On the 25th, the reserve and light brigades fol-  
 lowed the route of general Hope's column to Val-  
 deras, the cavalry at the same time pushing for-  
 ward their patrols towards Carrion : these, consist-  
 ing principally of the legion hussars, brought in this  
 day about thirty prisoners; towards night-fall,  
 however, the cavalry also withdrew to Vil-  
 lada; but so judiciously, that the enemy did not  
 appear to be aware of the retrograde movement  
 which they had masked.

On the following morning, however, this was  
 fully evident, and the advanced scouts of the French  
 cavalry came up with the rear of the British. The  
 piquets of the fifteenth hussars were attacked;  
 but a reinforcement from the Germans enabled  
 them to repel the enemy, and some prisoners fell  
 into their hands. The British cavalry this day

reached Villaldon, but left it again at midnight, <sup>1808.</sup>  
 and the third hussars of the legion now became <sup>December.</sup>  
 the rear-guard of the army. <sup>Journal of  
 3d hussars,  
 MSS.</sup>

The hussars left Villaldon on the morning of the  
 27th, and about three in the afternoon approached  
 the bridge of Castro Gonzalo.

Here the light battalions arrived on the pre-<sup>Journal of  
 majorRau-  
 tenberg,  
 MSS.</sup>  
 ceding day, and had been transferred to the re-  
 serve brigade under sir Edward Paget, which,  
 posted on the high left bank of the Esla, was now  
 employed in protecting the passage of the column  
 across that river. This was happily effected, and  
 the reserve followed the rear divisions to Benavente <sup>Napier.</sup>  
 about four o'clock, general Craufurd's brigade  
 remaining to destroy the bridge.

At day-break on the 28th, the German hussars <sup>Journal of  
 3d hussars,  
 MSS.</sup>  
 came again in contact with the enemy's advanced  
 horsemen, who about that time attacked their out-  
 posts, but were repulsed, and two officers of the  
 imperial chasseurs were taken prisoners.

The third remained as rear-guard on the left  
 bank, under torrents of rain and snow, until the  
 evening of the 28th, when they also passed the  
 Esla, and soon after midnight the bridge was  
 blown up.

The German hussars were here promised a day's <sup>Narrative  
 of captain  
 Meyer,  
 3d hussars,  
 MSS.</sup>  
 rest from the harassing duties of the rear-guard ;  
 a party of twenty only, under cornet von der  
 Hellen, was taken to make up the outlying piquet,  
 the rest were ordered to unsaddle and make up

1808. their horses for the night, holding themselves in  
 December. readiness to move off to the rear the next morning.

Narrative  
 of captain  
 Meyer,  
 MSS.

Fortunately for the British cavalry, major von Linsingen took upon himself to modify this order, and desired that the horses of the third should not be unsaddled. The river might, he thought, be forded, and the rear-guard surprised; he therefore cautioned the men by no means to consider themselves sure of passing the night undisturbed.

Narrative  
 of gen. sir  
 Loftus  
 Otway,  
 MSS.

The event verified his precaution; for at day-break the French cavalry were observed moving down towards the broken bridge. This proving impassable, they made several attempts to find a ford; but the swollen state of the river rendered these ineffectual, and they finally plunged into the stream and swam across.

Colonel Otway, who commanded the outlying piquet, having previously sent to apprise lord Paget of the enemy's apparent intentions, immediately called in his advanced posts, and gave orders that the main body of the piquet should join him without delay.

These orders were not, however, immediately complied with; and the French, amounting to between five and six hundred chasseurs of the imperial guard, had pressed in the detachments to within half-a-mile of Benavente, when colonel Otway, fearing that the British cavalry might be surprised in their quarters, determined to make a stand with the small force (only sixty men) which

was at his disposal: he accordingly took up a <sup>1808.</sup> position on the road where the mud-walls of some <sup>December.</sup> gardens of the suburb afforded protection to his <sup>Narrative of sir Loftus Otway, MSS.</sup> flanks, and there awaited the slow approach of the enemy.

Sixty men of the inlying piquet (composed of the tenth and seventh hussars,) and a serjeant\* and twenty-five men of the eighteenth hussars, now came opportunely to the assistance of the detachments, and colonel Otway, seeing that the enemy had halted one squadron considerably in advance of the rest of his column, resolved to take advantage of this disposition by charging the body thus advanced. The French squadron awaited the charge, and was completely routed, the officer commanding it being killed on the spot; but the remaining squadrons coming up immediately to its support, the piquets were obliged to retire with precipitation to their former position.

Meantime the alarm had been sounded in Bena- <sup>Narrative of major von Gruben, 3d hussars MSS.</sup> vente, and the third hussars of the legion, prepared by the prudent caution of major Linsingen, quickly repaired to the place of assembly. Without waiting for the general parade of the regiment, captain von Kerksenbruch and lieutenant Jansen hurried all the men they could immediately collect, amounting to nearly three troops, to the scene of contest, and, encreasing the effect of their

\* Serjeant Jeffs, afterwards adjutant of the seventh hussars.

1808. numbers by forming them in rank entire, enabled  
December. the retreating piquets to rally and prepare to join  
Narrative of sir Loftus Otway, MSS. them in a second charge. This attack, conducted  
by general Stewart and colonel Otway, was, as the  
first, also awaited by the enemy, but owing to the  
deep clayey ground over which the allied cavalry  
were obliged to pass, did not produce a like impres-  
sion upon the French column ; great havoc, however,  
was made among the enemy by the British sabre,  
which lost none of its excellence in the hands of the  
Hanoverian hussars,\* and both sides becoming in-  
termixed, a scene of desperate individual conflict  
ensued. Thousands of spectators from under the  
walls of Benavente encouraged their protectors  
with cries of “ Viva los Ingleses,” and the brave  
objects of their acclamation justified the plaudits  
by redoubled exertions : the contest was, however,  
too disproportionate to give any hope of ultimate  
success to the British, and would probably have  
terminated unfavourably to them, had not the re-  
mainder of the third hussar regiment under the  
command of major Burgwedel, and the main body  
of the outlying picquet, arrived. Lord Paget, also,  
who commanded the cavalry, now galloped into  
the field, and having quickly restored the British  
squadrons to order, and seeing that he was

\* The journal of one of the officers of the third hussars describes the wounds inflicted by the Germans on this occasion as quite extraordinary ; arms were cut off—heads split to the neck, and one French horseman is stated to have had his face cut from ear to ear right through the mouth.

supported by the main body of the tenth and 1808.  
 eighteenth hussars, then coming down the hill from December.  
 Benavente, the gallant lord headed a third charge Narrative  
 against the enemy. This was completely successful: of sir Lof-  
 the imperial chasseurs were driven into the river, tus Otway,  
 and many became easy marks for the carbines of MSS.  
 their pursuers. Arrived on the opposite bank,  
 however, the French spiritedly wheeled about, and  
 succeeded in wounding some men by firing across  
 the river; but meantime two pieces of horse artil-  
 lery had unlimbered close to the bank, and the first  
 shot, falling in the midst of those that had rallied,  
 soon decided their retreat.

In the course of the pursuit a young private of the Appendix,  
 German hussars, named Bergmann, who had already No. VII.  
 cut down a French officer, and possessed himself of  
 his sword and pouch, being mounted on a fast  
 English horse, found himself one of the foremost,  
 and came up with a person dressed in a green  
 frock, and cocked hat, who rode in rear of the  
 flying squadrons. The fugitive made a thrust at  
 his pursuer with his sword, which being parried,  
 he demanded "pardon." At this moment one of  
 the English hussars, who was close at hand,  
 seized the bridle of the prisoner's horse, and  
 led him away. Bergmann, then only a lad of  
 eighteen, and little knowing the value of his prize,  
 suffered the more shrewd Englishman to bear it off,  
 and giving himself no farther concern about the  
 matter, rejoined the pursuit: meantime the person

1808. in the green frock was taken to general Stewart  
 December. as the prisoner of the English hussar; nor  
 was it until Bergmann's comrades had reproached  
 him for not retaining his prize, that the unsophis-  
 ticated Hanoverian learned it was the general  
 Lefebvre !\*

Journal of The third hussars had forty-six killed and  
 8d hussars, wounded in this combat, where the entire loss on  
 MSS. the side of the British is stated not to have exceeded  
 fifty;† three only of the above were killed, and  
 major Burgwedel and cornet Brüggemann were  
 among the wounded. The casualties of the regiment  
 in horses amounted to twenty-two killed and forty-  
 Napier. seven wounded: the total loss of the enemy was  
 above two hundred men.

The British cavalry were withdrawn in the  
 evening to La Baneza; but the German hussars  
 were halted at Villabrazura, about six miles from

\* The honour of having captured the French general of cavalry at Benavente has been claimed by more than one individual of the several hussar detachments that were there engaged; among the rest by serjeant-major Grisdale, of the tenth, and corporal Lomax of the seventh hussars; the former was made a non-commissioned officer in consequence of his being considered the captor, and was, probably, the person who relieved Bergmann of his prisoner. Bergmann's pretensions were, however, made the subject of an official inquiry at Osterholtz in 1829-30, on the occasion of his petitioning for the Guelphic medal, and the statement in the text is founded upon the depositions which were then made. The medal was awarded him, as well in consequence of his gallant conduct at Benavente as at the Göhrde in 1813, where he was so severely wounded as to be rendered unfit for further service. (See Appendix, No. VII., B. to E.)

† Napier.



Benavente ; from hence they retired to Palacios on 1808.  
 the following morning, leaving a piquet of twenty- December.  
 two horses at Villabrazura to cover their retreat.

Lieutenant Heise was entrusted with the com- Narrative  
of major  
Heise.  
MSS.  
 mand of this party, and placing a non-commissioned  
 officer and six men in front of the place, towards  
 Benavente, he took post with the remainder behind  
 a small rivulet which ran through it.

During the night of the 30th they were not dis-  
 turbed; but scarce had day broke on the following  
 morning, and the piquet were about to fortify  
 themselves with some hot soup, which had been just  
 prepared, when the advanced party came galloping  
 over the bridge, followed by the enemy in considera-  
 ble force.

The main body of the third hussars was this day  
 on the road to Astorga, and a long day's march from  
 the rear division. Thus out of the reach of immediate  
 assistance, lieutenant Heise was placed in a situa-  
 tion of extreme difficulty. Were he to charge,  
 although with success, the weakness of his detach-  
 ment would be exposed, and to retreat would  
 naturally be to bring the whole force of the enemy  
 upon him; he was therefore obliged to proceed  
 with caution, and sending off a man with an  
 application for a reinforcement, he slowly retired  
 from the approaching squadrons.

Luckily for his small force a dense fog filled the  
 atmosphere, rendering objects scarcely distinguish-  
 able at the distance of twenty paces. The French

1808. continued to advance and the piquet to give way;  
December. the skirmishers on both sides became engaged, but  
Narrative of major Heise, MSS. the enemy made no charge: Benavente, doubtless, had not been yet forgotten.

The skirmishing was thus kept up throughout the whole day, the French appearing to be quite satisfied with this mode of pursuit. At length, towards dusk, they seemed to acquire more confidence, and began to press forward. Most fortunately for lieutenant Heise, an officer and twenty-two men came at this moment to his assistance, and he resolved to try the effect of shewing a bold front and becoming the assailant.

He accordingly spread out his little band in a single rank, and led them stoutly forward at full gallop.

The continued fog, added to the darkness of the night, prevented him from being able to distinguish more of the enemy's force than the retiring skirmishers, until he had arrived within about six paces of their front, when two squadrons met his view. These halted to receive him, and challenged the threatened onset with a tremendous shout.

It would have been madness for the small German detachment to have really charged the French, for those who might chance to escape from their superior force must have taken flight. Heise therefore, after shewing a bold front for a few seconds, put his line about and resumed his march at a steady trot.

This *ruse* had the desired effect. The enemy

did not venture to follow, and the little rear-guard <sup>1808.</sup> joined the regiment at Tariadenzo, a village near <sup>December.</sup> Astorga, about eleven o'clock, having sustained no further injury than the loss of one horse which had fallen in the road.

The British columns were united at Astorga on <sup>Napier.</sup> the 30th. Here they found the marquis of Romana, who, having abandoned his position at the bridge of Mancilla, had, contrary to his express promise, now brought his army into sir John Moore's line of retreat.

Much confusion was the necessary consequence. Large stores had been collected here by sir David Baird, and as they could not be removed, orders were given to destroy all that should remain after the army had been supplied; but neither the distribution nor destruction could be effected with regularity, and the discipline of the troops became materially injured by the tumult and disorder which prevailed in the town.

It was, at this time, sir John Moore's intention to embark the whole of his army at Vigo; and, in order to secure his flanks from the effect of any rapid movement which the enemy might make in that direction, he judged it prudent to send forward the two flank brigades of general von Alten and colonel Robert Craufurd by the shorter road of Orense, while the main body should proceed by the more circuitous route of Villafranca.

Sir John Moore entrusted these brigades, amount- <sup>Appendix,  
No. VIII.  
A.</sup>

1809. ing to about three thousand men, to the command  
 January. of general von Alten. The official order simply  
 Appendix, directed that general to proceed with the two bri-  
 No. VIII. gades to Vigo ; but at a personal interview with the  
 A. commander-in-chief, with which he was afterwards  
 honoured, general Alten was enjoined to press  
 quickly forward and secure the bridge over the  
 Minho at Orense ; after securing which point, he  
 was to proceed to and occupy Vigo, where the fleet  
 of transports, for the conveyance of the troops, was  
 assembled under the command of sir Samuel Hood.

Journal of  
 majorRau-  
 tenberg,  
 MSS.

Agreeably to these instructions general Alten left  
 Astorga with the flank brigades on the 31st, and  
 that day reached Ravanal.

During the march, he was joined by large bodies  
 of Romana's troops, which, scattered and disorga-  
 nized, crowded along the road in the most wretched  
 condition.

On the 1st of January, the flank brigades cross-  
 ing, with difficulty, the St. Salvador mountains,  
 through deep snow and under intense cold, reached  
 Ponferrada. On the following day colonel Crau-  
 furd's brigade were at St. Domingo de Flores, and  
 the legion at Sella. This march was nearly twenty  
 English miles, and in many places there was no  
 road to guide the troops ; many men were, there-  
 fore, unable to keep up with the column, and these  
 not arriving in quarters at night, general Alten  
 directed that an officer from each battalion should  
 remain at St. Domingo to bring them on.

The division reached la Rua on the 3d, and the following day, Puebla de Sante Tribez. Immediately on arriving here, general Alten ordered a detachment of there hundred volunteers of both brigades, under major Stuart of the 95th, to press forward and occupy Orense; these troops left Puebla the same evening, and after two days' forced marching through a difficult and mountainous country, reached their destination on the 6th.

1809.

January.

Journal of  
major Rau-  
tenberg,  
MSS.

General Alten arrived at Orense with the column on the following morning; but no appearance of any French force presented itself in that neighbourhood, and he decided upon giving the troops a day's rest. Here he received an official communication from colonel Murray, the quarter-master-general, informing him of sir John Moore's change of plan, and intention to embark the main body of his army at Corunna. General Alten was therefore directed to forward the commander-in-chief's orders to sir Samuel Hood, for the requisite number of vessels to go round immediately to that port. Captain Augustus Heise, the general's aid-de-camp, was accordingly sent off to the admiral by express, and fortunately reached Vigo in time to admit of the fleet getting out of the bay before an unfavourable change of wind which immediately followed their departure, had set in.

On the 8th, general Alten again sent forward major Stuart's detachment for the purpose of taking

1809. possession of the forts at Vigo, and having got rid  
 January. of Romana's fugitives, who remained in Orense, he  
 resumed his march on the following day.

Journal of  
 major Rau-  
 tenberg,  
 MSS.

The stragglers, however, had not yet come up, and major Martin, of the first light battalion, was therefore directed to remain behind, in order that he might take the command of the men and march them after the column.

On the 10th, colonel Craufurd's brigade obtained another halt day at Ribiadavia, and the legion battalions were advanced to Melon. These were, the following day, at Buggarin and colonel Craufurd's at Pontiferro; the latter reached Vigo on the 12th, and were immediately embarked, while the legion brigade remained in the suburb.

Appendix,  
 No. VIII.  
 A.

Lest the enemy might reach Vigo before the fleet could get out, general Alten took measures to render unserviceable a battery of heavy guns which commanded the bay, and having lodged a detachment of the legion brigade in the forts, under lieutenant-colonel Halkett, he embarked the rest on the 13th, and waited the arrival of major Martin from Orense.

On the 15th, he was most opportunely joined by brigadier-general Peacock, who was on his way from Lisbon to sir John Moore, with part of the military chest. The supply which this afforded him enabled general Alten to issue a month's subsistence to the troops, as well as to furnish major Martin with money for the conveyance of the sick and stragglers, whose progress the want of funds had much em-

barrassed. Major Martin came up on the 17th <sup>1809.</sup>  
 with about six hundred men, which, together with <sup>January.</sup>  
 colonel Halkett's detachment, were immediately <sup>Appendix.</sup>  
 embarked. <sup>No. VIII.</sup>  
A.

The men which had been brought up from Orense formed about two-thirds of those that had been left behind, and the wind not yet permitting the fleet to go to sea, many others were enabled to join the fleet before its departure; of the rest, some got back to the army in Portugal, others were never more heard of, and are supposed to have fallen by the hands of the Spaniards, who also had made <sup>Correspondence of major martin, MSS.</sup> some violent assaults upon part of major Martin's detachment. The number of the legion brigade <sup>Appendix, No. IX. & No. VIII.</sup> which ultimately never rejoined their corps, amounted <sup>A.</sup> to about a hundred and thirty-one men; and it could not but be satisfactory to general Alten and the Hanoverians to know that nearly the whole of these were adventurers of various nations, who had been enlisted in Danish Zealand, after the siege of Copenhagen.\*

\* Colonel Napier's observations upon the march of the flank brigades to Vigo, in the second volume of his History of the War in the Peninsula, having led count Alten to address a letter to the editor of the United Service Journal, this letter, with colonel Napier's reply, and a communication from captain Christoph Heise on the same subject, have been placed in the Appendix.

## CHAP. XI.

1809. **WE** left the third hussars at Tarienzo, where, on  
 January. the night of the 31st of December, lieutenant Heise's  
 Journal of party joined the regiment. Before day-break on  
 Dr. Gross- the morning of the new year they were again in  
 kopf, MSS. march, and that day reached Ponferrada.

This line of route to Villafranca turns that by  
 Bembibre, along which the rest of the army pro-  
 ceeded; and so closely did the enemy press the  
 legion regiment that they could not once venture  
 to unsaddle, and were obliged to keep up a continued  
 Journal of skirmish to Cacabelos, a small town four miles from  
 3d hussars, Villafranca, where they arrived on the 2d, having  
 MSS. had seven horses killed and two men wounded.

Napier. At Cacabelos the reserve took up a position, in  
 which, about one o'clock on the following day,  
 they were attacked by six or eight squadrons of  
 cavalry under general Colbert. This led to a sharp  
 skirmish, in which the French general was killed,  
 and the advance of the enemy was checked by the  
 English artillery. Two or three hundred men were  
 killed or wounded in this affair, which did not ter-  
 minate until dark.

The legion hussars which had been posted with  
 the artillery on a high ridge behind Cacabelos



during the combat, followed the reserve in the evening to Villafranca, forming the rear-guard with the ninety-fifth riflemen. 1809.  
January.

From Villafranca the road led over a mountainous and rugged country, totally unfitted for the operations of cavalry. The English dragoon regiments were therefore sent on at once to Lugo, and the German hussars alone retained to cover the retreat. These, being at the tail of the column, became the most exposed to the extreme privations and sufferings which, from about this period, attended the march of the army. Want of provisions and forage were severely felt. The inhabitants, locking up their houses and carrying off their effects, fled to the mountains, and their deserted dwellings served only to disappoint the famished soldiers who there sought food. The French cavalry pressed close at their heels, and to the want of sustenance was added that of rest, for little time could be allowed to either men or horses for repose.

The cold and wet of a severe winter season increased the miseries of the march, and completed the wretchedness of a state of trial which few armies have had to endure. "Many a man," writes an officer of the third hussars, "who for four days and as many nights had never been refreshed by one half-hour's sleep, became so indifferent to life, that at the close of a long day of exhausting duty he has thought within himself, and even secretly

Journal of  
Dr. Gross-  
kopf, MSS.  
Journal of  
3d hussars,  
MSS.

Narrative  
of major  
Heise,  
MSS.

1809. hoped, that the foreboding might be realized—"To-morrow I shall, probably, be no more!"

Napier. The wine-vaults at Bembibre and the store-houses at Villafranca had proved an irresistible temptation to many of the English soldiers, and the discipline of the army had become seriously affected by the excesses which they had committed at those places. Harassed and debilitated, as well by their own licentiousness as their absolute wants, the soldiers were falling to the rear by hundreds, and the road became covered with stragglers and baggage. Some painful scenes were now witnessed among the more helpless followers of the army. New-born infants, with their mothers, were seen perishing from cold; women struggling or falling exhausted in the snow; while broken-down carts, dead or disabled animals, and adandoned articles of equipment, scattered around, bore further evidence of this calamitous retreat.

Lord Londonderry's narrative. Napier.

Journal of 3d hussars, MSS.

Among other resources of the army which it was found necessary to abandon, was part of the military chest. This sum, amounting to about £25,000 in dollars, was contained in casks and carried on bullock-carts; but the tired animals were no longer equal to their load, and the casks were ordered to be left behind. Lieutenant Hugo, who commanded the rear-guard of the German hussars, thought, however, that he might be able to save part of the treasure, and halting, made each man of his de-

tachment, which amounted to about five-and-twenty, <sup>1809.</sup>  
 take an equal weight of dollars in his corn-sack; <sup>January.</sup>  
 these sums were brought on and safely delivered to  
 the commissariat at Corunna; the remainder was <sup>Napier.</sup>  
 rolled down the side of the mountain, and fell into  
 the hands of the enemy and Spanish peasants.

It has been stated that sir John Moore relinquished  
 his intention of marching to Vigo, and ordered  
 the transports which had been assembled there, to  
 go round to Corunna; meantime he decided upon  
 rallying the army at Lugo, and offering battle to  
 the enemy at that place.

After gallantly baffling the repeated efforts of their  
 pursuers to cross the stream at Constantino, the reserve  
 reached the position which had been taken up by  
 sir John Moore in front of Lugo on the night of  
 the 5th, and found the whole army assembled to  
 await the arrival of the enemy. A few of the  
 French cavalry shewed themselves on the 6th,  
 but it was mid-day on the 7th before the columns  
 under marshal Soult formed in order of battle in  
 front of the English, nineteen thousand of whom  
 were brought together here to oppose them.

The German hussars, now mustering only two <sup>Journal of</sup>  
 hundred and twenty effective horses, occupied the <sup>3d hussars,</sup>  
 outposts; the British cavalry, much reduced in <sup>MSS.</sup>  
 efficiency from want of shoes and other privations,  
 had been already sent on to Corunna, as well as  
 those horses of the legion which were found unfit

1809. to take the field, and with these the rescued treasure was forwarded.

January. Napier. The French marshal having satisfied himself by the vigorous manner in which a fire from four pieces of his artillery was answered, that he had more than a rear-guard to contend with, made a feint on the British right, and at the same time sent a column of infantry and five guns against the left. The French were gaining the advantage, when sir John Moore arriving, rallied the light troops, and broke and pursued the adverse columns, whose loss was estimated at between three and four hundred men.

No further hostilities occurred on this day, and the following morning found both sides still arrayed in order of battle ; but the French shewed no disposition to renew the attack, and night fell without a shot having been fired.

The British general, therefore, decided upon taking advantage of the impression which he had made, and resuming his retreat, and large fires having been lighted on the heights, the troops were drawn off in silence at ten o'clock.

The weather set in wet and tempestuous as the army broke up from the position ; marks which had been placed to point out their line of march were destroyed, and much confusion ensued. One division having been imprudently permitted to leave their ranks and take shelter from the weather, dis-

organization and plunder followed, and the main body arrived at Betanzos on the evening of the 9th, in a state of extreme disorder.

1809.

January.

Napier.

The loss of men in this last march was greater than that in all the former part of the retreat; nevertheless fourteen thousand infantry were still in column, and these moved on in good order to Corunna on the following day.

The nearer the troops approached the coast, the greater was the exertion of each individual to reach the desired point, and discipline returned as the prospect opened of their sufferings being soon at an end. Joy was eloquent in the countenances of all, when the towers of Corunna first appeared in sight; but this expression was exchanged for one of despair, when not a single transport could be discovered in the harbour!

Journal of  
of major  
Heise,  
MSS.

Sir John Moore made immediate dispositions to receive the enemy, who were not able completely to assemble on the Mero before the 12th. On the 14th, the first transports arrived, and were succeeded by the rest on the following day, when the embarkation of the cavalry was commenced.

Napier.

The condition of this force on its arrival at Corunna was truly lamentable; many horses had died, or been destroyed on the march, and the greater part of those which were brought up alive, were foundered. The embarkation of these in the face of an enemy would have been attended with diffi-

1809. culty and delay, and, therefore, in order to prevent  
 January. them from falling into the hands of the French,  
 where their sufferings would have been protracted,  
 they were ordered to be shot. Two hundred and  
 Journal of 3d hussars, MSS. ninety horses of the legion were thus disposed  
 of; about half only of this number could be  
 considered effective, the rest being either lame or  
 wounded.

To a German hussar, whose interests are so  
 identified with those of his horse, the execution of  
 this order could not but prove highly painful.  
 Narrative of major Heise, MSS. Many of the third had shared their scanty portion  
 of bread with the noble animals which they were  
 now ordered to destroy; and many a tear fell as  
 they reluctantly complied with the apparently hard  
 sentence.

While some officers of the legion were dressing  
 on the morning of the 14th, the house in which  
 they were quartered shook so violently that the  
 windows broke, and they hurried into the street in  
 the full belief that they had experienced the shock  
 of an earthquake. Here they found hundreds of  
 half naked inhabitants who had jumped from their  
 beds, under the same impression, and were in fear-  
 ful expectation of another shock; the alarm, how-  
 ever, proved to have been caused by the explosion  
 of a magazine, containing some thousand barrels of  
 gunpowder, which had been collected in a store-  
 house near the town, for the use of the English,

and was set on fire by them in order to prevent it from falling into the hands of the enemy. 1809.  
January.

A general engagement took place at Corunna on the 16th, which, ending in the complete defeat of the French, gave a glorious termination to a retreat which had hitherto been attended with so many disasters. The loss of the gallant chief by whom it had been so ably conducted, clouded the splendour of a victory which deprived England of one of her most valuable soldiers ; but the honour of the British arms was upheld, and the pre-eminence of British infantry made conspicuously manifest. The public press in England afterwards heaped base aspersions upon the military character of the fallen hero, and triumphed for a time in their illiberal persecution. But justice has been at length rendered to the virtuous Moore, and the calumnies which ignorance and malignity had heaped upon his fame, have been dispelled by the pen of truth in the eloquent pages of a brilliant historian.\*

Immediately after the action, sir John Moore's intention of embarking the troops was proceeded with by general Hope, upon whom the command had devolved. The night was dark, and expedition being the main object, the men were hurried off to the ships with little regard to regiments or vessels, and many transports were overloaded, while others

*Narrative  
of major  
Heise,  
MSS.*

\* Colonel W. F. P. Napier.

1809. had not half their compliment: the baggage, also,  
 January. could not be entirely brought off, and the German  
 hussars were among the other sufferers in this particular. The cries of the wounded as they were moved about in the ships, mingling with the noise of the boats as they passed to and fro to the shore, continued through the night, and before morning the greater part of the troops had been got on board. About ten o'clock on the 19th, the French  
 Journal of Dr. Grosskopf, MSS. managed to establish a battery of light guns on the heights which commanded the harbour, and opening a fire upon the shipping, caused much consternation among the masters of transports. Many of these cut their cables, and suffered the vessels to drive about, by which they became intermixed in disorder, and some ran ashore. A British man-of-war, however, soon silenced the battery, and the fleet got to sea.

During the 18th and 19th, the wind setting right into the bay, they were obliged to cruize about in the offing; but on the 20th, a favourable breeze sprung up, and all sail was made for England.

Journal of major Rauteenberg, MSS. The same day on which the main body of the army left Corunna, the flank brigades, under general Alten, sailed from Vigo; the wind was, however, so violent that the vessels were unable to clear the narrow entrance of the harbour, and attempted to anchor; but the bottom proved rocky, and few anchors would hold; four vessels broke away, of which two were lucky enough to reach the channel



between the rocks ; but the others were nowhere <sup>1809.</sup>  
to be seen, and great alarm for their safety was <sup>January.</sup>  
entertained in the fleet.

On the morning of the 21st, some more vessels were driven from their moorings, upon which the fleet put back to the harbour, and the loss in cables was made good at Vigo.

At length on the afternoon of the 23d, the flank <sup>Appendix,  
No. VIII.  
C.</sup> brigades got to sea with a favourable wind, and on the 25th had arrived off Cape Finisterre. Here further orders were expected from sir Samuel Hood, and the vessels lay to, to await them ; but general Alten, having been informed by captain Seymour of the Pallas, of the events which had taken place at Corunna, and seeing that symptoms of infectious fever had broken out among the troops, thought it advisable not to lose the advantage of a favourable passage, which the fair wind offered, and took upon himself the responsibility of proceeding with the division to England. Accordingly, after lying to, for about eighteen hours, without any instructions arriving, and the wind being adverse to Vigo, whither they were supposed to have gone, the fleet made sail for the British shores.

After having been again assailed by stormy weather, on the night of the 29th, they reached Spithead on the 31st, and had the satisfaction to find there one of the two transports which had been lost sight of at Vigo ; but no account could be had

<sup>Journal of  
major Rau-  
tenberg,  
MSS.</sup>

1809. of the other, and it was afterwards ascertained that  
 January. she had gone down.

The master of this transport, which was called the Smallbridge, had, it appeared, during the gale of the 29th, mistaken Brest light for that of Scilly, and ran the vessel upon a rock near Ushant. She was immediately stove in; the high sea prevented any assistance reaching her from the coast; and at day-break on the following morning she went down. Five officers, two hundred and nine non-commissioned officers and soldiers, seven women, and nine children of the German light brigade, together with the master and crew of the transport, perished on this melancholy occasion.\*

Appendix,  
No. X.

Narrative  
of major  
Heise,  
MSS.

The legion cavalry were more fortunate than the infantry; one vessel narrowly escaped shipwreck off the Isle of Wight, but the whole of the regiment were safely landed at Plymouth, Falmouth, and Portsmouth, towards the end of the month, and from these ports they marched to Chichester.

Landing without horses or baggage, the third hussars did not, it may be supposed, make a very brilliant figure on their re-appearance in England; they were not, however, the less well received.

\* So violent was the gale on the night of the 29th, that ten vessels doubly anchored at Spithead were driven out and stranded; among these was a transport with part of the 1st light battalion, under major von dem Bussche, from which, however, notwithstanding the difficulties of their situation, the men were all saved.

“ D—n all the horses,” said a thorough John Bull <sup>1809.</sup>  
in reply to the dispiriting observations of a by- <sup>January.</sup>  
stander on the state of the regiment, “ Yorkshire <sup>Narrative</sup>  
has horses enough to mount them again—thank God <sup>of major</sup>  
that the lives of the brave men are saved.” <sup>Heise,</sup>  
<sup>MSS.</sup>

Great exertion was now made to recruit and re-mount the regiment, which, removed to Ipswich, enjoyed uninterrupted repose until the “ war of freedom” in the north of Germany called them again into active service.

## CHAPTER XII.

1809. THE return of sir John Moore's army from Spain  
January. was followed by a series of successes on the part of  
Napier. the French. That general's daring advance from Sahagun had for a short time diverted the torrent of war in the Peninsula ; but now that these troops were withdrawn, the French generals could co-operate for the subjugation of Portugal, and three armies were soon assembled around her frontiers for that purpose. Soult was marching upon Oporto, General Lapisse was at Salamanca, and marshal Victor on the banks of the Tagus. The small British force, under the command of sir John Cradock, in Portugal, was insufficient for any offensive operation ; the population of Lisbon were in open hostility to the British authorities ; anarchy reigned in Oporto ; and the English government had absolutely come to the resolution of abandoning Portugal if the enemy advanced, when, suddenly, vigorous measures emanated from their counsels, and they decided upon reinforcing the army, and placing it under the command of sir Arthur Wellesley.

In furtherance of this object, five thousand men, who had been sent from England under general

Sherbrooke to aid the Spaniards in the south, and were just about to enter the port of Cadiz, were now directed to land in the Tagus ; other bodies of troops were collected along the English coast, and sent off under able officers to Lisbon, and every preparation for an active campaign was immediately commenced.

1809.

March.

Lord Lond-  
derry's  
narrative.

The four line battalions, and three batteries of artillery of the legion, which, as has been stated, were left behind in Portugal on the march of the light brigade and third hussars into Spain, were employed during the winter months in various duties and detached commands, at and in the neighbourhood of Lisbon. Frequent marching in rain through the inundated country of the Tagus caused some sickness among the men, and in the month of January several were in hospital ; but though temporarily weakened in this respect, their numbers received a considerable accession ; for many of their countrymen in the French service came over to the more honourable cause under the British standard.

Journals of  
line batta-  
lions,  
MSS.\*

The fourth battery of artillery formed part of a corps, which, in the beginning of February, was sent under major-general Mackenzie to Cadiz, but which, without having landed, returned to Lis-

Narrative  
of general  
Hartmann,  
MSS.

\* The journals which are referred to under this title, were kept by captain Schnath of the first, lieutenant Fienck of the second, major Heinemann of the fifth, and captain Stutzer of the seventh regiments, late king's German legion.

1809. bon on the 12th of March. Major Hartmann was  
March. entrusted with the dismantling of the forts between Belem and Cascaes, and both this officer and captain von Arentschild of the same corps were frequently employed on reconnoitring parties; the latter was permitted to enter the Portuguese service with the rank of major, and rendered valuable assistance to the bishop of Oporto in the defence of that place against Soult.

Napier. The French generals continued to overcome all resistance. Romana, who had again collected an army, fled before Soult, and the Portuguese general Silveira vainly endeavoured to oppose his progress. Another army which had been brought into the field under Cuesta, and part of which had at first gained considerable advantages, was completely defeated near Medellin by marshal Victor on the 28th of March, and on the following day Soult entered Oporto.

Sir Arthur Wellesley landed at Lisbon on the 22d of April, and the regency of Portugal immediately nominated him marshal-general of their armies. Previous to this general Beresford had been entrusted with the organization of the Portuguese troops; an independent corps called the Lusitanian legion had been raised by sir Robert Wilson; a considerable body of native troops and volunteers were on the Vouga under colonel Trant, and Cuesta had again brought an army into the field.

Sir Arthur decided upon attacking Soult without

delay, intending, if successful, to establish a good system of defence in the northern provinces, and then, in conjunction with Cuesta, to turn his arms against Victor. 1809.  
May.

On the 2d of May the British general reached Coimbra, where, on the 5th, were concentrated about twenty-five thousand sabres and bayonets. Of these the king's German legion formed about three thousand, which were thus brigaded.

#### INFANTRY.

##### MAJOR-GENERAL JOHN MURRAY.

##### FIRST LINE BRIGADE, BRIGADIER-GEN. VON LANGWERTH.

1st line battalion ..... lieut.-colonel von Ompteda.

2d line battalion ..... colonel von Barse.

##### SECOND LINE BRIGADE, COLONEL VON LÖW.

5th line battalion ..... colonel von Drieberg.

7th line battalion ..... colonel von Drechsel.

#### ARTILLERY.

##### MAJOR G. J. HARTMANN.

2d foot battery six six-pounders ..... captain von Rettberg.

4th foot battery six six-pounders ..... captain Heise.

#### RIFLEMEN.

##### MAJOR VON WURMB.

Skirmishers \* of the four line battalions.

Detachments of the 1st and 2d light battalions.

Captain Meyer's detachment of the 3d hussars was attached to the 14th English light dragoons, commanded by Colonel Talbot.

A grand review of the allied forces took place

\* To each company of the German line regiments were attached ten men armed with rifles, who uniting in action, formed a corps of skirmishers, and were called *scharfschützen* (sharp shooters.)

1809. here, the observations on which, in the pages of a  
 May. contemporary historian, offer too liberal a tribute  
 of praise to the legion regiments, to be left un-  
 noticed in this work :—

“ On the 5th of May,” says lord Londonderry,  
 “ the army being at length assembled, a grand review  
 took place, and a most imposing and magnificent  
 spectacle it presented. To some of the troops which  
 stood that day under arms, it is not going too far  
 to affirm that the whole world can produce none  
 superior. Of this description were the brigade of  
 guards, the twenty-ninth, the eighty-third, and the  
 four battalions of the king’s German legion ; and  
 the rest, if in a few minor points they fell short,  
 were such as any general might be proud to com-  
 mand. The whole were indeed in the highest  
 state of discipline and efficiency, and all appeared  
 animated by one spirit—an ardent desire to meet  
 the enemy.”\*

Napier. The French army was extended by detachments  
 from the Vouga to the Tamega, and the wings,  
 separated by the Douro, had no mode of communi-  
 cation but by the boat-bridge at Oporto.

Sir Arthur Wellesley decided upon making his  
 principal attack by the high road to Oporto, while  
 a smaller corps under general Beresford should  
 march by Vizeu, and having left on the right bank  
 of the Tagus, under general Mackenzie, a body of  
 troops sufficient to secure Lisbon from any attack

\* Narrative of the Peninsular War, by the Marquis of London-  
 derry, vol 1, p. 325, 8vo. edition.



by which that capital might be threatened by Victor, he prepared to advance upon the Vouga. 1809.  
May.

The army formed one division of cavalry and three of infantry, exclusive of Marshal Beresford's corps, which consisted principally of Portuguese. The cavalry were commanded by lieutenant-general Payne, the first division by lieutenant-general Paget, the second by lieutenant-general Sherbrooke, and the third by major-general Hill, and the whole amounted to about fifteen hundred cavalry, fourteen thousand five hundred infantry, and twenty-four guns. Napier.

General Beresford marched for Vizeu on the 6th, and the following morning the advanced guard consisting of one British brigade, the four line regiments of the legion, general Cotton's division of cavalry, and two batteries of artillery, the whole under the command of lieutenant-general Paget, took the high road to Oporto by Vouga bridge.

On the 9th, general Hill's division marched for Aveiro, and that evening the whole reached the line of the Vouga river.

The French general Franceschi, with all his cavalry, a regiment of Mermet's division, and six guns were at Albergaria Nova, eight miles beyond Vouga bridge, and the remainder of Mermet's division was at Grijon on the main road to Oporto.

Sir Arthur Wellesley determined upon surprising Franceschi, and turning the enemy's right by the lake of Ovar, to effect which object general Hill

1809. embarked on the evening of the 9th with one  
 May. brigade, which was landed at Ovar at sunrise on  
 Napier. the following morning. The same day marshal  
 Beresford having repulsed Loison, reached Pezo  
 de Ragoa.

Both flanks of the French army were now  
 turned; but the corresponding movements of the  
 centre columns of the British on the night of the  
 9th, were unfortunately baffled by accidental and  
 unexpected difficulties which the troops encountered  
 on crossing the Vouga; for although driven from  
 his position by Paget's infantry, and the corps of  
 colonel Trant, Franceschi was enabled to make  
 good his retreat to Oliveira without any serious  
 loss, and continuing his march throughout the  
 night, he joined Mermet at Grijon on the following  
 morning. The legion bivouacked, the night of the  
 10th, in a pine-wood near Oliveira, at which town  
 the advanced guard halted; a light gun, which had  
 been abandoned by the enemy, fell into the hands  
 of the first-line battalion on the march.

Journals  
 of line  
 battalions,  
 MSS.

Early on the morning of the 11th the advanced  
 guard resumed their march, and about eight  
 o'clock came up with the enemy at the village of  
 Grijon.

Napier. The French were drawn up on a range of heights  
 behind the village, having a wood, occupied with  
 infantry, on their right; but their left was ill pro-  
 tected, and sir Arthur Wellesley determined upon  
 attempting to turn it. Without once halting the

column, the head of which became instantly engaged, he ordered general Murray's division of the king's German legion, which was in rear of the rear-guard, to bring their left shoulders forward, and attack the enemy's flank, while the 16th Portuguese were directed to occupy his attention in the wood. The legion brigades immediately set forward in double quick time, and after continuing at this pace for a considerable distance, at length came up to the enemy's left. The skirmishers of the four line battalions, and the detachment of the light brigade under major von Wurmb, became instantly engaged with the enemy's tirailleurs, whom they drove back, and the French advanced upon them in line; but after firing a volley, the line also faced about and retired, pursued by the skirmishers. Lieutenant Lodders of the fifth battalion, and five men were wounded in this skirmish, the former severely.

1809.

May.

Lord Londonderry's narrative.

Notes of major von Hölle, first line battalions, MSS.

While the light troops of the legion were thus engaged, two companies of the first line battalion, under the command of captains Detmering and von Marshalk, and one company of the second line battalion under captain Langrehr, which had been sent up to support the skirmishers, became also engaged with the French light infantry, whom they in like manner drove back, but not without some sacrifice; for captain Detmering was killed, captain Langrehr received a shot through the arm, and eight men were wounded.

Journal of captain Schnath.

Notes of major von Hölle, MSS.

1809.

May.

Lord  
London-  
derry's  
narrative.  
Napier.

The French, seeing their left turned, abandoned the position, and having been sharply followed by brigadier-general Stewart, with a few troops of cavalry, lost upwards of one hundred men in prisoners. At Carvalhos, however, they halted, and forming up their infantry upon the heights, checked the pursuit of the cavalry, who, wheeling off to the right, now threatened their flank.

This movement had the desired effect, and the heights of Carvalhos were also abandoned by the enemy. Thus marching and fighting, the British column continued to move on until five o'clock, when the advanced guard bivouacked for the night, and the head-quarters halted at Grijon.

The French passed the Douro during the night, and removing all the boats to the right bank, completed their measures of security by destroying the bridge. About ten o'clock the advanced guard under general Paget arrived at the opposite suburb of Villa-Nova, where it was joined by general Hill's corps from Ovar. Sir Arthur Wellesley now planned and executed the passage of a river, which for boldness of design and skilfulness of execution stands unrivalled in the history of ancient or modern warfare.

Soult, expecting the English from the sea, had left the right bank of the river insufficiently guarded, and sir Arthur seeing a large building on that side which would contain at least two battalions, and the direct passage to which was hidden

from the town, he resolved, if he could find but one boat, to attempt to cross, and colonel Waters of the staff was immediately despatched in search of the mode of conveyance.

This officer accidentally discovered among the bushes a small skiff, which had been brought over in the night by a poor barber of Oporto, and, having been aided by the exhortations of a friar, who stood on the bank, he persuaded some peasants to accompany him in the skiff to the opposite side. Here they found, lying in the mud, four large barges, and with these colonel Waters returned in half-an-hour, having effected his daring enterprize unperceived by the enemy.

Meantime, eighteen or twenty guns were planted at the neighbouring convent of Sarea, which commanded the large building or seminary on the opposite bank, and major-general Murray with two light guns, two squadrons of the fourteenth dragoons, the first line battalion, and major von Wurmb's riflemen of the legion, were sent to the ferry of Avintas, about three miles higher up the river, with orders to effect a passage there also.

One boat having been brought up to the point of embarkation under the convent, an officer and twenty-five men of the buffs got on board, and in a quarter of an hour were lodged in the seminary without having created any alarm; a second, and then a third boat followed; in the last was lieutenant-general Paget; but scarcely had the men

1809.

May.

Napier.

Lord Londonderry's narrative.

Napier.

Journal of captain Schnath.

Napier.

1809. from this boat landed, when a tumultuous noise  
 May. arose in Oporto, and the French came furiously  
 Napier. down upon the seminary.

General Paget was struck down, and severely wounded, and the enemy's fire augmenting fast, the combat became fierce and unequal; but the English artillery from Sarea, sweeping the left of the wall round the seminary, the French attack was confined to the side of the building towards the Valonga road, and on this side the troops under general Murray were expected to appear.

Several large boats were now brought over to Villa-Nova, and general Sherbrooke's division began to cross in strong bodies. These were followed by the remaining three battalions of the legion. Journals of line battalions, MSS. Murray's troops were now seen descending the right bank from the ferry, and joyful demonstrations from the lower part of the town denoted that it had been abandoned by the enemy.

Napier. The French were seen in full retreat on the road to Valonga, the British infantry from the seminary, and the guns from the opposite bank pouring a destructive fire into the flying columns. Had the Germans on the right been now ordered to fall upon this disorganized crowd by general Murray, the enemy's difficulties would have been much increased; but the skirmishers of the first line under lieutenant von Hölle, and two companies of the same regiment, the first under ensign Hodenberg, were alone brought into fire; the skirmishers made

Notes  
 of major  
 von Hölle,  
 MSS.

several prisoners, and one rifleman, named Henry Hauer, was lucky enough to capture a French lieutenant-colonel: seven of the legion were wounded.

1809.

May.

Although the infantry of general Murray's corps were not pressed forward in pursuit, the two squadrons of the fourteenth, led on by brigadier-general Stewart and major Harvey, followed after the retreating columns with much spirit, and by repeatedly charging the disorganized masses as they crowded along the road, committed great slaughter among them. The gallant major Harvey lost an arm in the pursuit.

Lord 'Londonderry's  
narrative.

The casualties of the French on this day were about five hundred men in killed and wounded. Five pieces of artillery, a considerable quantity of ammunition, and fifty dismounted guns also fell into the hands of the conquerors, and several hundred men were taken prisoners in the hospitals. The British had only twenty killed, and a general and ninety-five men wounded.

Napier.

The German brigades bivouacked near Oporto for the night, and in the afternoon of the following day were sent to Valonga, about six miles on the Amarante road, in pursuit of the enemy; but Soult having destroyed his artillery and abandoned his military chest and baggage, had already crossed the Sierra de Catalina to Guimaraens, and here luckily falling in with Loison, who had retired before Beresford from Amarante, and being joined by the dragoons of

Journals  
of line  
battalions,  
MSS.

Napier.

1809. Lorge from Braga, this able commander concentrated  
 May. his whole army.

Journals of  
 line  
 battalions,  
 MSS. At five o'clock on the morning of the 14th, the  
 legion battalions were again in march, and passing  
 the wreck of Soult's artillery and stores, reached  
 Penafiel at seven in the evening. This day the  
 main body of the army marched from Oporto upon  
 Braga.

The Germans were allowed but little rest at Penafiel,  
 for general Murray, thinking to surprise the French  
 at Guimaraens, ordered the pursuit to be resumed  
 the same night. The division left Penafiel about  
 one o'clock by torch-light; but when at eight in the  
 evening they reached Guimaraens, Soult was at  
 Napier. Salamonde, and this night the French marshal,  
 surprising the Portuguese who were sent to destroy  
 the Ponte Nova, passed the Cavado river there,  
 and was in full march for Montalegre.

Meantime sir Arthur Wellesley had reached  
 Braga, and leaving this place on the morning of  
 the 16th, he came upon Soult's rear-guard at Sala-  
 monde about four o'clock. The French made but  
 one discharge and fled in confusion to the Ponte  
 Nova. Some guns were brought to bear upon them  
 here, which, strewing the place with slain, closed  
 the work of destruction on the part of the British.

When the direction of Soult's retreat had been  
 ascertained, the legion battalions were ordered to  
 fall into the line of march of the principal column,



and they bivouacked within two leagues of Montalegre on the 18th; but Soult having drawn up in force behind the Sulas, the pursuit was on this day discontinued, and the battalions returned to Guimaraens. For eight days they had been marching under constant rain and over dreadful roads: the baggage had been left behind the Vouga; and when they arrived at Guimaraens on the 21st, there was a general want of shoes in the division, as was indeed the case throughout the army. Here, however, the Germans were given a few days' rest, the officers received their baggage, and a partial supply of shoes was obtained for the men. On the 25th, the retrograde movement upon Oporto was resumed, and proceeding from this capital to Coimbra by the lake of Ovar, they followed the rest of the army through Abrantes to the left bank of the Tagus, where, on the 27th of June, the troops were encamped.

1809.

May.

Journals of  
line  
battalions,  
MSS.



## CHAPTER XIII.

1809. WITH a reinforcement of five thousand men which  
 June. joined the British army on its return from the cam-  
 Journal of paign of the Douro, came the first hussars of the  
 colonel von king's German legion, under the command of lieute-  
 Linsingen, nant-colonel von Arentschild. This regiment, about  
 MSS. six hundred strong, joined the army at Castello  
 Branco on the 25th of June, and were united with  
 the twenty-third English light dragoons into a bri-  
 gade under major-general Anson.

Captain Meyer's detachment of the third hussars  
 were now ordered to return to England. Their  
 effective horses were distributed among the four-  
 teenth British dragoons and waggon-train, and, thus  
 dismounted, the troop joined the regiment at Ipswich  
 about the end of July.

Napier. The army had suffered much from sickness;  
 four thousand men were in hospital, and those  
 present under arms, which did not exceed twenty-  
 two thousand, were nearly barefooted and totally  
 without pay.

These and other difficulties kept the troops in a  
 state of inactivity until the end of June, when sir  
 Arthur Wellesley, having learned that a reinforce-  
 ment of eight thousand men were off the rock of

Lisbon, that the first French corps had retreated 1809.  
 from Torremocha, and that Cuesta had consequently July.  
 advanced, determined upon commencing his march Napier.  
 into Spain.

The head-quarters broke up from Castello Branco on the 1st of July, and moved in one column by Moralejo and Coria.

On the 10th the army reached Plasencia, and on the 18th, crossing the Tietar river and taking the route of Miajadas, reached Talayuela.

On the 20th they arrived at Oropesa, where the army halted the 21st, on which day Cuesta united his whole force at Velada, except a small detachment which threatened the bridge of Talavera.

The German hussars were with the advanced guard in the division of general Mackenzie, and this day Journal of colonel von Linsingen, MSS.  
 a patrol of the regiment under lieutenant Ernest Poten came in contact with the enemy, from whom they took some prisoners, with the loss of only two horses wounded.

On the 22d the allies moved in two columns to Napier.  
 drive the French posts from Talavera; Cuesta marching by the high road came first up with the enemy near the village of Gamonal, where general Latour Maubourg, with two thousand dragoons, not only checked the head of the Spanish leading column, but obliged general Zayas, who commanded it, to display his whole line, consisting of fifteen thousand infantry and three thousand cavalry; nor did the French retire until the English troops

1809. appeared on their right. Supported by some infantry  
 July. they then retreated behind the Alberche. The  
 Journal of first hussars were ordered to move upon the enemy's  
 colonel von right flank, but having gained the opposite bank  
 Linsingen, of the river, they could effect nothing, and suffered  
 MSS. a little from cannon fire, having had three horses  
 killed and three wounded.

Napier. A general attack was agreed upon for the next  
 morning, and the British troops were under arms  
 at three o'clock in the forenoon; but Cuesta,  
 after keeping them waiting until seven, object-  
 ed to fighting at all upon that day, alledging,  
 among other absurd reasons, that it was Sunday;  
 but the English quarter-master-general de Lancy,  
 who had been sent on a reconnaissance, accompa-  
 Journal of nied by thirty of the German hussars under captain  
 colonel von von Linsingen, having reported in the afternoon  
 Linsingen, that the enemy were retiring, Cuesta changed his  
 MSS. mind, and came in a coach and six horses to sir  
 Arthur Wellesley, for the purpose of examining  
 Victor's position in concert with the British general.  
 On the following day he crossed the Alberche, and  
 regardless of sir Arthur Wellesley's expressed deter-  
 mination not to move the British army further until  
 its wants were supplied, pressed forward singly in  
 pursuit of the French. Meantime colonel de  
 Lancy had repeated his reconnaissance with cap-  
 tain von Linsingen's detachment, and crossing the  
 Alberche on the evening of the 23d, saw the  
 French outposts drawing off about midnight; he

then cautiously followed the column by cross roads, and at day-break could perceive the whole French army in retreat. Their rear-guard was, however, too strong to admit of any attack being made upon it with effect by the hussar detachment, which was accordingly ordered to return. On its way back, a French staff-officer and several men, who had remained behind, fell into the hands of the hussars, and captain von Linsingen joined the advanced guard of the English army in a camp which had just been abandoned by the French at Cazalegas, on the left bank of the Alberche, and to which point sir Arthur Wellesley, fearing the consequences of Cuesta's imprudence, had sent forward general Sherbrooke with two divisions of infantry and all his cavalry.

1809.

July.

Journal of  
colonel von  
Linsingen,  
MSS.

Napier.

This morning brigadier-general Stewart, with two squadrons of the first hussars under major von Grote, went forward in front of Cuesta's army, and came up with the French rear-guard at St. Olalla. A smart skirmish ensued as the enemy were quitting the town; but the French being supported by infantry, the hussars could make but little impression on them; general Stewart, however, was enabled to ascertain that the enemy's main body had fallen back to Torrijos, on the Toledo road, and that sir Robert Wilson's corps had reached Escalona. The two squadrons returned on the following day.

Journal of  
colonel von  
Linsingen.  
MSS.

Lord Lon-  
donderry's  
Narrative.

At length Cuesta had some perception of his

1809. danger, and he ordered a retreat for the 26th;  
July. but the French passing the Guadarama at two  
Napier. o'clock in the morning, drove the Spanish cavalry  
out of Torrijos, and pursued them to Alcabon. Here general Zayas offered battle; but the moment the French infantry appeared in sight, the Spaniards broke and fled. Luckily for Cuesta, the duke of Albuquerque came up with a division of three thousand fresh cavalry, and held the enemy in play, while Cuesta retreated towards the Alberche in the greatest disorder.

Although the French made no attempt to profit by the unconnected position of the allies, the disorder among the Spaniards continued to increase, until general Sherbroke, marching out of Cazalegas, placed his division between them and the enemy. Sir Arthur Wellesley now endeavoured to persuade Cuesta to withdraw to Talavera, but the old man was obstinate, and said he would fight where he stood: however, on the following morning, when the French cavalry appeared in sight, and general Sherbrooke was about to retire, he at length yielded to sir Arthur's entreaties. The British chief now assumed the command of both armies, and leaving general Mackenzie's division and general Anson's brigade of cavalry to cover the retrograde movement, he put the rest of the allied troops in march for the position, where he had resolved to offer battle to the enemy.

Sir Arthur Wellesley placed the Spaniards on

his extreme right, close to the town of Talavera, where their front was covered, and they could not be seriously attacked. General Campbell's division, formed in two lines, touched the Spanish left; general Sherbrooke's stood next in one line, general Mackenzie's being intended to form a second; and the left was closed by a round steep hill, which formed one of a chain of heights that bounded the woody plain between Talavera and the Alberche; still further on the left, the lofty Sierra Gredos ran nearly parallel with these heights, and from the valley between, opened the bed of a mountain rivulet, which ran in front of this flank of the position. Part of the British cavalry was with general Mackenzie's division, and in the plain in front of the left; the remainder was posted behind a great redoubt which stood at the junction of the Spanish and English flanks. The Spanish cavalry were posted behind their infantry on the right.

The British and Germans under arms this day amounted to somewhat more than nineteen thousand sabres and bayonets, with thirty guns, and the Spaniards to from thirty-three to thirty-four thousand, with seventy guns; but the French having been reinforced at Torrijos on the 25th, were advancing with nearly fifty thousand men, of which above seven thousand were cavalry, and they had at least eighty pieces of cannon.

It has been stated that general Mackenzie's division of infantry and general Anson's brigade of

1809.

July:

Napier.

1809. cavalry were left behind on the Alberche to  
July. cover the march of the rest of the allied army  
Napier. into the position at Talavera. About noon the  
French cavalry appearing, these troops also with-  
drew, and the infantry proceeded to take post  
at the *Casa des Salinas* in the wood on the right  
bank of the river, while two squadrons of the first  
hussars of the legion, under captains von Linsingen  
and Krauchenberg, covered their retreat. Of these  
squadrons one was to cross the Alberche by the  
bridge, the other by a ford about two miles higher  
up the river; and this squadron, commanded by cap-  
tain von Linsingen, got into an awkward predicam-  
ent; for close by the ford was the French hut  
camp which has been before mentioned, and this  
had been set on fire by the rear of the English  
division, as it marched through. The flaming huts  
scared the horses, and so impeded the march of the  
squadron, that the rear-guard were obliged to  
engage the enemy's advanced cavalry in the river,  
and these, coming on in superior numbers, ren-  
dered the contest most unequal. The enemy  
would not, however, venture to the right bank  
until their infantry had come up, and the squa-  
dron retired behind general Mackenzie's division,  
having lost two men and nine horses killed,  
and one officer (cornet von Heimbruch), and  
three horses wounded. But general Mackenzie's  
division was not prepared for this rapid advance  
of the enemy, and, being mostly young troops,

Narrative  
of colonel  
von Linsin-  
gen, MSS.



got into confusion and were driven into the plain; the old regiments of the division, however, restored order, and the fight was afterwards so steadily maintained, that the enemy were checked. Another brigade of cavalry was ready in the rear for their support, and covered by this brigade and that of general Anson, they retreated in good order across the plain, and gained the left and centre of the British position, one brigade forming in second line behind general Sherbrooke's division, the other (that of colonel Donkin) taking post on the hill on the left; the two cavalry brigades joined the rest of that force in rear of the right wing. Captain Heise's battery of German artillery was planted on the right of this hill, and that of captain von Rettberg between the first and third divisions. The infantry brigades of the legion, by some mistake of the staff-officer who was appointed to conduct them to their ground, had been led away an hour's march behind Talavera, where they were preparing to bivouac, when another order arrived, correcting the error, and requiring them to hurry forthwith to the left of the position. Victor had already brought up one division and all his artillery to a height in front of colonel Donkin's brigade; and on Donkin's right, about eight in the evening, the two line brigades of the legion were ordered to deploy.

1809.

July.

Napier.

Journal of  
captain  
Schnath,  
MSS.

Meanwhile the French light cavalry advancing Napier.

1809. on the right, had, after a slight skirmish, caused  
 uly. ten thousand Spanish infantry and all their artillery  
 Napier. to fly to the rear, and Victor conceived the design  
 of profiting by the disorder thus created, and the  
 approach of twilight, to seize the hill on which  
 colonel Donkin's brigade was posted, and which  
 was the key of the British position; he, accordingly,  
 directed Ruffin's division to attack the troops on the  
 hill, Villattes to follow in support, and Lapisse to  
 create a diversion by falling upon the two brigades  
 of the legion. The attack upon the hill was vigo-  
 rous, and Donkin's force being too weak to defend  
 every part, many of the French turned his left, and  
 gained the summit in his rear; but general Hill soon  
 arriving with a re-inforcement, this point was re-  
 covered, and the enemy driven back. Lapisse now  
 advanced upon the legion. It was dark, and cap-  
 tain von Ompteda, of the first light battalion, had  
 been sent up the hill with a party of riflemen to  
 plant outposts: upon part of this detachment, con-  
 sisting of the skirmishers of the first line battalion  
 under lieutenant von Hölle, the enemy's column  
 fell, and charging, obliged them to retire, and lieu-  
 tenant von Hölle was severely wounded. In re-  
 treating, the skirmishers received the fire of the  
 seventh line battalion, which regiment and part of  
 the fifth being thrown into confusion by the sud-  
 denness of the attack, were charged by the French  
 column, and gave way; they were, however, rallied

Notes of  
Major von  
Hölle,  
MSS.

Journal of  
captain  
Stutzer,  
MSS.

by major Berger and adjutant Delius, the latter of whom received a severe wound in the arm.

1809.

July.

Meantime the French column which had been driven back by general Hill, again advanced, and the contest, renewed on both sides with vigour, appeared for a time doubtful; but the French were finally driven down the hill, and Lapisse abandoning his false attack upon the legion, the combat ceased.

Notes of  
major von  
Hölle,  
MSS.

Napier.

The line was, however, frequently disturbed by false alarms during the night, and several men and officers were killed by the desultory firing of both the British and Spanish troops.

The British lost about eight hundred men, and the French about a thousand on this day; the casualties of the legion were principally confined to the seventh battalion, which had eighteen rank and file killed, two officers and nine rank and file wounded, and seventy-seven rank and file missing; lieutenant Delius was obliged to have his arm amputated.

Journal of  
captain  
Stutzer,  
MSS.

At day-break the French again renewed the attack. Ruffin's troops marched in columns of battalions against the left of the British, embracing two sides of the hill; these were followed by Villatte's division, and a roar of artillery preceded their advance. The German regiments, in consequence of some of the guns having been brought up directly in their front, became much exposed to this fire, and were ordered to throw back their left; this movement, which was performed with the

Napier

1809. greatest order and precision, but not without considerable loss from the constant discharges of grape, brought the retired flank of the brigades close under captain Heise's battery of artillery, immediately on the right of the hill, against which the advancing columns were directed. The French closed with general Hill's division. The fifth line battalion of the legion which formed the left of the German brigades, was ordered to ascend the height, and the corps of riflemen became hotly engaged. The struggle was furious and obstinate. The inequalities of the ground not permitting the troops to retain their compact formation, separate contests of small bodies ensued. Major von Wurmb, gallantly leading on the German riflemen, was followed by captain Langrehr bearing the regimental colours, at the head of the fifth battalion; the skirmishers fell upon the enemy's left flank, while the battalion attacked him in front, and furiously assailing one of the French columns with the bayonet and butt-end of the musket, caused tremendous destruction around them. Near four hundred of the twenty-eighth French regiment are stated to have fallen before the German battalion alone. Meantime the English regiments had been also victorious, and the enemy's broken columns flying down the hill, returned to their position, having in the space of forty minutes lost above fifteen hundred men.

Napier.

These repeated efforts of the French against the hill, and the appearance of some of their light

Notes of  
major von  
Hölle,  
MSS.

troops on the mountain beyond the left, caused sir Arthur Wellesley to prolong his flank across the valley, and he placed the principal mass of his cavalry in rear of the left of general Hill's division. General Anson's brigade had been removed early in the morning to this point, and was now formed in two lines with the leading squadrons looking into the valley, the twenty-third dragoons on the right, and the first hussars of the legion on the left; a division of Spanish infantry was posted in the mountain to observe the enemy's light troops, and this flank was further strengthened by the Spanish division of the duke of Albuquerque, which was placed in rear of the British.

1809:

July.

Journal of  
colonel von  
Linsingen,  
MSS.

After the failure of Ruffin's attack, the French generals held a council on the policy of risking a general action, and while they were thus engaged, the troops on both sides took some rest; the wounded were taken to the rear, and the British availed themselves of the only refreshment they could procure—the water of a brook which divided the positions. The troops were suffering much from hunger; since the 22d they had had no bread; a few ounces of raw wheat was the only subsistence issued to the army, and the Germans had more than once been obliged to seek nourishment from a sort of pea called *corovanzen*, which they found in the fields. Thus physically debilitated, these gallant soldiers had driven back their opponents; but the victory was yet unfinished, and about one o'clock

Napier.

Journals of  
line batta-  
lions,  
MSS.

1809. they were again called upon to meet the furious  
 July. onset of the enemy.

Napier. A general attack was made upon the position. General Sebastiani, with the fourth corps of the French army, fell upon the right of the allies, Villatte and Ruffin moved upon the left, and Lâpisse attacked the centre. The first was gallantly repulsed by the British and Spaniards, and the enemy driven back with the loss of ten guns; but while the victory was secured here, a charge fatal to part of general Anson's brigade took place in the valley on the left.

Here, threatening the contested height, marched the division of Villatte, supported by two regiments of light cavalry, while, on his right, that of Ruffin, covered by the light troops on the mountain, advanced to turn the British left. To check these movements, general Anson's brigade of cavalry was ordered forward, and it advanced at a trot in the same order in which it had been previously formed; the twenty-third dragoons on the right, and the first hussars of the legion on the left; the whole in two lines. The leading columns of the French, seeing that they were threatened by a charge of cavalry, formed three squares, behind the intervals of which their light horsemen took post, and thus they awaited the advance of the brigade. After the first order to trot, no further word of command was made known to the squadron officers; but as soon as the leading squadrons of the twenty-third

Narrative  
 of Lieut.-  
 col. von der  
 Decken,  
 1st hussars,  
 MSS.

came within range of the French artillery, the 1809.  
horses crowded to the left and began to canter. July.

The hussars were now galled by the enemy's rifle-  
men from the mountain, and several from the serre-  
file ranks of this regiment were killed and wounded. Narrative  
of lieutenant-colonel  
von der Decken,  
MSS.

Arrived under the hill, the brigade was loudly  
cheered by general Hill's division, and the encourag-  
ing shout met with a corresponding answer from the  
fearless horsemen who gallantly advanced upon  
the bayonets, the twenty-third taking the larger  
square which was in front of that regiment, while the  
hussars moved upon the two smaller squares on the  
left. But just when the pace had been increased and  
the charge had commenced, a hollow cleft, till now  
hidden by the long grass, presented itself in front  
of the leading squadrons. Too late to pull up, the  
foremost horsemen rode headlong at the hollow, and  
a frightful scene ensued. Some tumbled in and  
over the ravine, some scrambled through it, while  
others leaped boldly across the chasm, and gained  
the other side ; but great disorder was the conse-  
quence. In front of the hussars the ravine was  
from six to eight feet deep, and from twelve to  
eighteen feet in breadth ; while widening in front of  
the twenty-third, it was there also more shallow,  
and the greater part of that regiment were able  
to get across, but so dispersed and in such con-  
fusion that they could make no impression upon  
the square, and the French artillery sweeping their  
ranks, and fresh troops arriving to the already over-

Narrative  
of colonel  
von Lin-  
singen,  
MSS.

1809. powering mass of the enemy, they were obliged to  
 July. give way, and leaving nearly half their number in  
 the field, escaped from the unequal contest. The  
 Narrative of colonel  
 von Lin- hussars suffered less, their flank not having been  
 singen, exposed to the fire of the artillery, and the rear  
 MSS. squadrons crossing the ravine more cautiously on  
 seeing the fate of the front;\* but the unlooked-for  
 impediment having thrown the first line into disorder,  
 few of them arrived before the bayonets of  
 the enemy, and no impression was made upon the  
 squares; the rear squadrons halted after crossing  
 the ravine, and the twenty-third being now dispersed,  
 the attempt was abandoned, and the whole  
 retired behind the heavy cavalry brigade of general  
 Fane.

Napier. The twenty-third left on the field two hundred  
 and seven men and officers; the casualties of the  
 Appendix  
 No. XI. hussars amounted to thirty-seven men and sixty-four  
 horses. Among the wounded were lieutenant Ernest  
 Poten and cornet Teuto.

Although this charge, in consequence of the  
 unlooked-for impediment by which it was baffled,

\* Colonel Napier gives Arentschild, who commanded the German hussars, the credit of having reined up at the edge of the ravine in consideration of the lives of his men. This act of prudence cannot, however, be justly imputed to the veteran, who, perilous as was his course, did not hesitate to follow the orders which he had received. It is singular that general Ponsonby, who was present as major of the twenty-third on this day, should also be under the impression that the hussars did not cross the ravine. See letter from general Ponsonby appended to the third volume of Napier's "History of the War in the Peninsula."



failed in its intended effect, the French troops in the valley were paralyzed by the boldness of the attempt, and they remained stationary; but the left and centre of the British position were furiously assailed, and general Sherbrooke's division became involved in a critical struggle. The second line brigade of the legion under colonel Löw co-operated in repulsing the attack of the French on the hill, while the guards and first brigade met the attack on the centre. Reserving their fire until the French had crossed the ravine, these regiments received the enemy with a volley, and then rushing forward with the bayonet, drove their assailants in disorder to the other side; from hence the fire of a second line opening upon them, and being also exposed to a murderous discharge of grape, the legion brigade was ordered to retire, and it fell back with little disorder, leaving general von Langwerth among the slain. The guards, however, accompanied by a detachment of the first line battalion skirmishers under lieutenant von Rettberg, had inconsiderately quitted the line and passed beyond the German brigade, and thus insulated, they became enveloped in the fire of the enemy's musquetry and artillery, and the French swarmed in the centre of the position. At this critical moment, when the British centre was broken, and victory seemed about to decide for the French, the forty-eighth regiment, timely sent down from the hill by the vigilant British chief, advanced through the disordered mass and checked

1809.

July.

Napier.

 Journal of  
line bat-  
talions,  
MSS.

 Notes of  
colonel von  
derDecken,  
MSS.

 Journal  
of captain  
Schnath,  
MSS.

Napier.

1809. the pursuing columns. The guards immediately  
 July. rallied; the Germans again advanced; a brigade of  
 Napier. light cavalry trotted up from the second line; the  
 artillery battered the enemy's flanks; the French  
 relaxed their efforts; and soon the British shouts  
 proclaimed the victory.

The casualties of the British in this action amounted to upwards of five thousand; those of the French exceeded seven thousand: the enemy also lost seventeen guns.

Appendix  
 No. XI.

The entire loss of the legion in both days' fighting, was six officers, eight sergeants, and a hundred and seventy-six men killed, forty-one officers, fifty-eight sergeants, and eight hundred and forty-three men wounded, and two hundred and seventy-five men missing. Of these, upwards of eleven hundred and fifty fell on the 28th. Their casualties in horses amounted to eighty-eight. The admirable manner in which the German artillery under major Hartmann was served on this day contributed much to the glorious result, and drew forth the personal commendation of sir Arthur Wellesley. Captain von Rettberg's battery being stationed on the hill, came more immediately under the observation of the commander-in-chief, who condescended particularly to notice the precision with which a bombardier named Dierking directed the fire of one of the guns of the battery.\* An instance of zeal

Guelphic  
 archives,  
 MSS.

\* Dierking, in his memorial for the Guelphic medal, states that lord Wellington, having suggested throwing shells into the French columns

and presence of mind in a sergeant of the same battery 1809.  
deserves also to be recorded.

July.

The sergeant in question, named Bostelmann, Guelphic  
archives,  
MSS. with four gunners and four workmen, was entrusted with the supply of the battery from the ammunition waggons in its rear. The enemy's bombs had set fire to the dry heath, with which this part of the field was covered, and the flames spreading, Bostelmann was constantly obliged to change the position of the waggons, in order to keep them away from the burning heath. Just as four full limbers had been sent off to the battery, the enemy directing their fire upon the ammunition park, set the whole space between and around the waggons in flames. Two waggons, the limbers of which had not been yet sent off, could be immediately removed, and they reached the high road, which was at some distance, in safety; but the empty limbers of the remaining four not having yet returned from the battery, the danger became imminent, and the quick explosion of these waggons appeared inevitable.

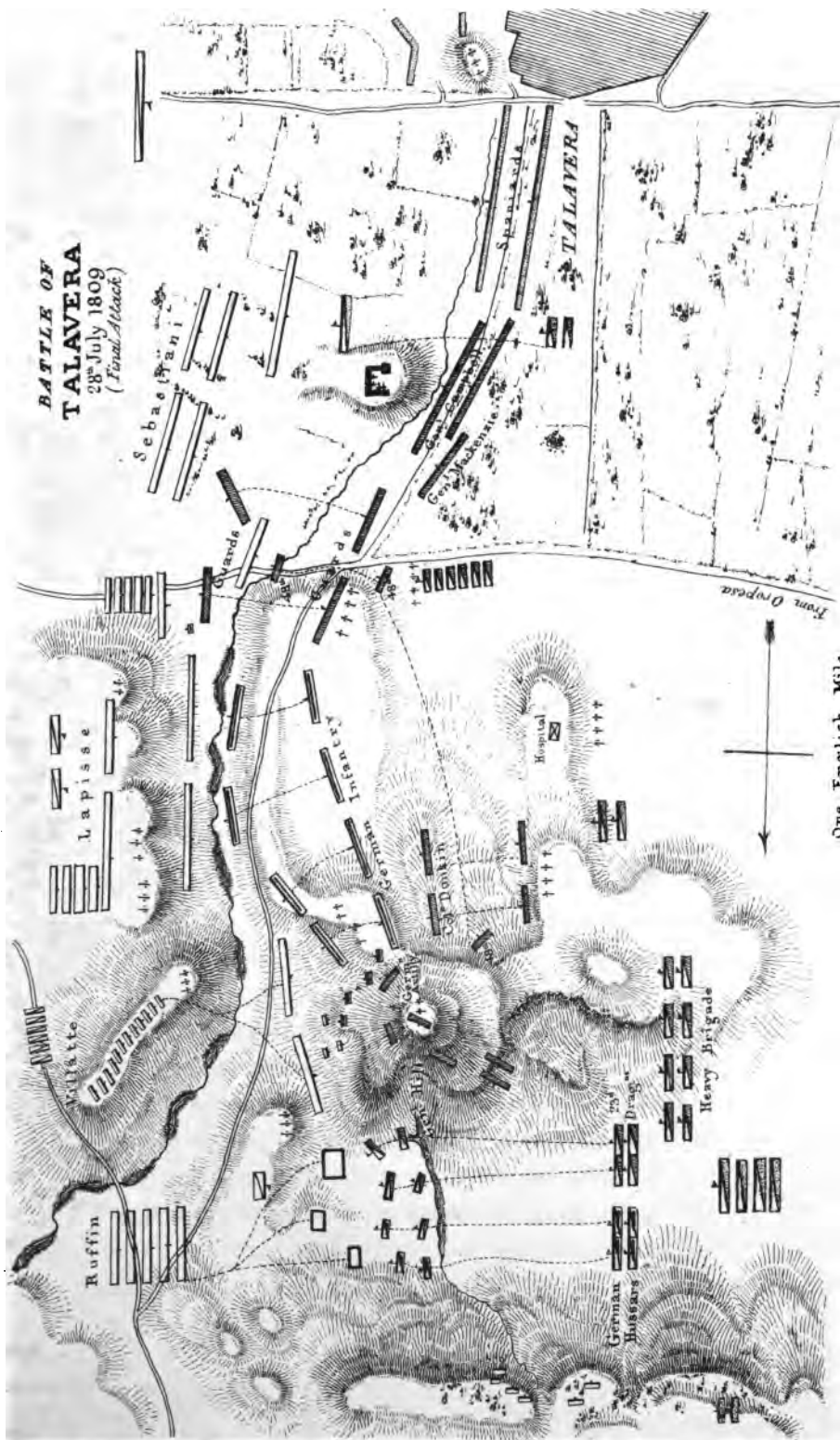
Bostelmann, well aware of what was to be apprehended, but at the same time considering that the loss of the ammunition might have a material effect on the result of the battle, as the battery to which it belonged was posted on the key of the allied position,

against which the cavalry charge was directed, and orders having been given by captain Rettberg to that effect, was so pleased at the precision with which the German bombardier executed his task, that his lordship clapped him on the back, and said, "Very well, my boy."

1809. against which the enemy's main efforts were directed,  
July. determined to attempt the preservation of the waggons,  
Guelphic regardless of the personal danger with which the  
archives, effort would evidently be attended. Of his assist-  
MSS. ants, the four gunners only were available, the  
workmen, expecting every moment an explosion,  
having run away; and with the aid of these four  
men, Luttermann, Zingreve, Warnecke, and Lind, the  
gallant sergeant succeeded in removing the heavily  
loaded ammunition waggons through the burning  
heath, and placing them on a spot in the rear, which  
a little trench had yet preserved from the flames.  
Here they awaited the empty limbers, which, at  
length arriving, enabled them to remove the waggons  
to the high road in safety. This important service  
of the sergeant and gunners met with a deserved  
acknowledgement from major Hartmann, who, after  
the action had ceased on the evening of the 28th,  
called them forward and publicly expressed to them  
that approbation which their spirited conduct so  
well merited. Bostelmann was afterwards rewarded  
with a commission.

The fifth battalion of the legion had, in their  
contest with the twenty-eighth French regiment on  
the hill, gained more honours than at the period of  
the fight they were at all sensible of. Some men of  
the battalion having gone in the evening from their  
bivouac towards the spot where the glorious strug-  
gle of the morning had taken place, in search of  
materials to make a fire, brought back, among other

**BATTLE OF  
TALAVERA**  
28<sup>th</sup> July 1809  
(*Final Attack*)



Printed by B. King Charlotte Str Rathbone Place

One English Mile

London T E W. Booms June 1832

*N.L.B. del. I. Hobert Lithog.*



articles, three poles, which the officers soon recognized to be such as bear the French eagles. A strict search among the slain was consequently made for the parts deficient. This was successful, and captain George von Düring had the next day the honour of personally presenting these trophies of the gallant regiment to which he belonged, to the commander-in-chief.

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1809.

July.

## CHAPTER XIV.

1809. **W**HILE the first hussars, four of the line battalions,  
July. and two batteries of artillery of the German legion were thus participating in the first successes of the British arms in Spain, the light infantry brigade, second hussars, and those battalions of the line that were stationed in Sicily, were simultaneously engaged in conjunction with two other British armies; the two first in an expedition to the Scheldt, the Sicilian corps in an invasion of Italy.

Bissett's  
reign of  
George III.

The expedition to the Scheldt consisted of an army of forty thousand men, under the command of lieutenant-general lord Chatham, accompanied by a powerful fleet under admiral sir Richard Strachan, and had for its object the capture or destruction of the French ships which might be either building at Antwerp and Flushing, or afloat in the Scheldt; the destruction of the arsenals and dock-yards at Antwerp, Terneuse, and Flushing; the reduction of the island of Walcheren, and the rendering the Scheldt no longer navigable for ships of war. Should all these objects not be found attainable, as many as possible were to be secured, and the army was to be then re-embarked, leaving



behind a force sufficient to maintain possession of the island of Walcheren. 1809.

July.

Lieutenant-general sir Eyre Coote was second in command; lieutenant-general sir John Hope commanded the reserve; and the cavalry of the army were under the orders of major-general von Linsingen, of the king's German legion. Journal of major Rautenberg, MSS.

The expedition sailed from the Downs in three successive divisions on the 28th and two following days of July, and the whole had reached the Scheldt in safety by the 31st of August. Two troops of the second German hussars, under major von Müller and captain Clamor von dem Bussche, were attached to the first division, which, commanded by sir John Hope, was directed to land on South Beveland; the second division under sir Eyre Coote, which was particularly destined for the conquest of Walcheren, was to disembark on the north part of the island; while the remaining division under lord Rosslyn to which the rest of the legion hussars were attached, should await the operations of the two first divisions.

In the afternoon of the 30th, the fleet having effected the difficult passage of the Veer-Gat, hitherto considered impracticable for large ships, sir Eyre Coote, with six brigades and a few light artillery and riflemen, landed on the Bree sands, about a mile to the westward of fort der Haak, without opposition. The fort was abandoned by the enemy on the advance of the British, and the Dutch general Osten, who commanded on this part

1809. of the coast, drew off his troops towards the principal fortress of Flushing; at the same time the Dutch general Bruce, with about two thousand men, passed over to South Beveland.

Journal of  
major Rautenberg,  
MSS.

July.

After the fort had been abandoned by the enemy, the disembarkation proceeded without further opposition, and before night-fall the whole of the second division was on shore.

Sir Eyre Coote immediately took up a position on the sands, and sent forward the division of general Frazer to invest Terveer and fort Rammekens.

Letters  
from  
Flushing.\*

Ter-Veer was summoned, but the governor refused to surrender, and preparations for a bombardment were accordingly commenced. Meantime the gun-boats and bomb-vessels under sir Home Popham arrived before the town in the Veer-Gat, and on the following morning commenced the cannonade.

The garrison received the attack bravely, and returned the fire of the ships with spirit; but the effects of the British guns were soon conspicuous. Houses fell; bricks, mortar, and timber were hurled over the heads of the besieging army on the other side of the town, and large fragments of chimneys were driven into the adjacent country. The falling lumber began at length to fill every space, and the garrison being no longer able to work their guns,

\* Letters from Flushing, containing an account of the Expedition to Walcheren, Beveland, and the mouth of the Scheldt, under the command of the Earl of Chatham, with a topographical and statistical account of the Islands of Walcheren and Beveland, &c. By an officer of the eighty-first regiment, London, 1809.

it became evident that the town would not hold out much longer. Night now coming on, the humanity of the British commanders interposed, and the fire was slackened; but the enemy seemed to consider this forbearance a reflection on their courage, and having cleared away some of the rubbish from the guns, re-commenced firing. In this manner, tempered by the rain and darkness, the operations continued during a good part of the night; but this resistance proved fatal to the town, which, the next morning, presented the melancholy spectacle of a smoking pile of bricks, through which the flames seemed struggling for an outlet.

The garrison now offered to capitulate, and the offer was accepted by the British commanders, who allowed the brave defenders to march out with all the honours of war. Their numbers proved to be not more than about four hundred men, consisting of four companies of infantry and one of artillery, commanded by lieutenant-colonel Bogart, whose gallant defence was a just subject of admiration in the besieging army. The British had about eighty men and officers killed, and double that number wounded.

Sir John Hope landed near Ter-Goes, in South Beveland, on the 1st of August, and met with no opposition; the enemy's general Bruce withdrawing his troops into Bergen-op-Zoom. Fort Bathz was evacuated on the night of the 2d, and thus the whole island of Soult Beveland fell into quiet possession of

1809.

August.

Letters  
from Flush-  
ing.

1809. the British. The enemy's ships then retired up the  
 August. Scheldt, beyond fort Lillo, and some even above  
 Letters Antwerp, where they lay quite out of the reach of  
 from Flush- the British fleet.  
 ing.

After the surrender of Ter-Veer, sir Eyre Coote's corps moved on to Middleburg, which town, although without guns or garrison, was permitted to enter into capitulation, and the troops followed the retiring army towards Flushing, where the enemy had determined to make a stand.

Two British regiments, the 14th and 71st, pursued the enemy up to the gates of the fortress, and endeavoured to force an entrance with them by a direct assault. The attempt caused a great panic in the place; but the British commander deemed it advisable to call off the troops, and to commence operations in the more regular form of a siege.

Narrative  
 of the  
 Campaign\*

The defences of Flushing on the land side were but indifferent. The town was inclosed within a single line of bastions, whose flanks were perpendicular to the curtains; these works were of earth, and their construction was in other respects extremely defective. The rampart was low and commanded by the sea dyke; except on the flanks of the position, it was in great want of repair, and had neither traverses nor bomb-proof cover for the garrison. In front was a respectable ditch, though

\* A short Narrative of the late Campaign of the British army under the orders of the Right Honourable the Earl of Chatham, K.G. with preliminary remarks on the topography and channels of Zealand. London, 1810.

without any sort of glacis. The bastions on the flanks, where the sea-dyke met the works, were of brick, but in a very weak and neglected state, and they were liable to be breached at the distance of a thousand yards from the place. In front of each flank on the sea-dyke, the French had constructed a sort of outwork with a low parapet, on which a few guns were mounted; and, they had also added a ravelin before each of the gates communicating with the country. Throughout the land front there were distributed about fifty pieces of artillery, fourteen only of which were twenty-four pounders, the rest being principally field-pieces and howitzers, and almost all of them were mounted *en barbette*, without merlons or traverses.

Towards the sea the town was enclosed by a wall of brick, behind which was a rampart, which in many places presented powerful batteries both of guns and mortars towards the Deurloo channel, and the anchorage in front of the town; a battery called the Dykeshook protected the entrance to the harbour on the west, while fort Rammekens, commanding the channel which separates the island of Walcheren from South Beveland, defended the entrance on the east: a sea bombardment appeared, therefore, to have been more apprehended than a regular siege.

More extensive projects of defence had been made by the French, the basis of which was

1809.

August.

Narrative  
of the  
Campaign.Journal of  
major Rautenberg,  
MSS.

1809. founded on a proposed inundation, with res-  
 August. . pectable casemated works on either flank, for the  
 Narrative of the security of the dykes leading to the body of the  
 Campaign. place, and excavations had already been commenced  
 about two thousand yards in front. The town was  
 defended in all by one hundred and seven pieces of  
 artillery, but out of fifty guns in battery on the  
 land side, where the work was above a mile in ex-  
 tent, only fourteen were twenty-four pounders, the  
 rest, including mortars, being all of small calibre;  
 however, by opening the sluices, and cutting the  
 dykes, the surrounding country could be inundated,  
 and the assault of a besieging army that might  
 give time for the water to flow, (about ten days,)  
 altogether prevented.

Journal of  
 major Rautenberg,  
 MSS.

Lord Chat-  
 ham's Des-  
 patch.

Previous to opening the trenches before the for-  
 tress, it was necessary to get possession of the  
 batteries, which, it has been stated, commanded the  
 south coast of the island on its eastern and western  
 sides, and these were not abandoned without oppo-  
 sition. Major-general Graham had a sharp contest  
 with the enemy on the morning of the first, when  
 he obtained possession of the Dykeshook, and two  
 small batteries; brigadier-general Houston's bri-  
 gade at the same time forced the troops that  
 were stationed on the Middleburg road, to retire  
 with the loss of four guns, and several killed and  
 wounded. Lord Paget's division took up a position  
 at West Soubourg, and lieutenant-general Fraser's,

marching in the evening upon Ruttern, detached a corps for the reduction of fort Rammekens, to complete the investment. Rammekens capitulated on the 3d of August with a garrison of one hundred and twenty-seven officers and men, and the passage of the West Scheldt was thus opened; but the fleet could not yet take advantage of the surrender, being prevented by contrary winds from entering the channel.

The taking of Flushing was lord Chatham's first object; after this should have been accomplished, his plan of operation was understood to be, to assemble the land forces at fort Bathz, in South Beveland, and then passing over to the east bank of the eastern branch of the Scheldt, to continue along that line until he should reach the main river; sir Richard Strachan in the mean time was to proceed down the Scheldt with the fleet, and clear the channel. In this manner the combined forces were to advance to Fort Lillo, where some strong opposition was expected.

The number of the enemy's troops at this time in the island of Walcheren was about four thousand men, consisting chiefly of Prussians, Spaniards, Dutch, and Irishmen; they had few artillery-soldiers, and were wholly unprepared for the defence of such a place as Flushing. The investing army under sir Eyre Coote exceeded fifteen thousand men; one battalion remained at Ter-Veere, another garrisoned Middleburg, and about thirty

1809. thousand men were under sir John Hope in Beve-  
 August. land.

Letters  
 from  
 Flushing.

The necessary preparations for commencing the siege on the land side went on ; artillery, ammunition, and stores were brought up to the vicinity of the fortress, and the construction of batteries was begun ; but the approach of the flotilla to the sea front was still delayed by contrary winds, and the communication thus laying open with Cadzand, which island was left unoccupied by the British, the enemy soon took advantage of the neglect, and on the 4th, and two following days of August, about three thousand men passed over from Cadzand to Flushing. This reinforcement enabled them to keep up an active and enterprising opposition to the operations of the besiegers, and it was found necessary to land additional troops. General Grosvenor's division and general von Alten's brigade of the legion were therefore ordered to disembark. The German brigade landed in the afternoon of the 5th, and marched to Middleburg, and the following day joined the outposts of the besieging army at Ost-Zobourg.

Journal of  
 major Rau-  
 tenberg,  
 MSS.

Letters  
 from  
 Flushing.

About four o'clock in the afternoon of the 7th, two thousand of the garrison of Flushing, under the command of general Osten, sallied out from the place by two different roads, with the intention of dislodging the advanced party of general Graham's brigade, amounting to about six hundred men, which was posted on the right wing of the



position. The enemy, gallantly led on by their officers, advanced with a great shew of resolution, and their charge was vigorous, but the deliberate courage of the besiegers repelled the attack, and after a contest of about two hours they were driven back with loss and completely routed, their officers in vain endeavouring to rally them. The main brunt of the combat fell upon the English regiments, but a detachment of the first German light battalion was also engaged, and their conduct drew forth the special approbation of the British commander, in the general orders of the following day. Four rank and file of the battalion were killed, and lieutenant du Fay, ensign Hedemann, and twelve rank and file wounded; the two officers severely. The French colonel du Bois, several officers, and a considerable number of the assailants were made prisoners.

1809.

August.

Journal of  
major Rautenberg,  
MSS.

The trenches were completed on the 9th, and two six-gun batteries ready for action, but the fleet was still detained by contrary winds, and the bombardment was delayed until their arrival. On this day the divisions of lord Rosslyn and the marquis of Huntly landed on South Beveland. The construction of a strong mortar battery was commenced within three hundred yards of the north-east part of the fortress, and the enemy made no attempt to interrupt the work, which led to the general opinion that the garrison were instructed to run no risks, but to keep the place as long as possible,

Letters  
from  
Flushing.

1809. thus giving the French marshals time to assemble  
August. their armies at Antwerp.

Letters  
from  
Flushing.

The heavy artillery was landed at Terveer from the ships, and dragged across the island to Flushing by the British seamen, a body of whom, amounting to nearly five hundred men, had been formed into a marine brigade, and, under the command of captain Richardson of the navy, rendered most effective assistance to the besieging army. The difficulty and time required to drag these guns a distance of eight miles, caused much delay in the progress of the siege, and meantime the garrison of Flushing were receiving reinforcements from the opposite island of Cadzand; on the 9th, however, the gun-boats took up a station which prevented any further communication with this coast, and on the 11th, the wind having become favourable, ten British frigates, under lord William Stuart, passed the two batteries of Cadzand and Flushing in gallant style, and, after being exposed for nearly two hours to the enemy's fire, anchored off the sea front of the fortress.

Meanwhile general Monnet caused the sluices to be opened, and the dyke on the right of the town to be cut, and the water began to flow; but the tide not being at the highest, and the wind blowing off shore, his expectations were not fully answered, and although the besiegers were much incommoded, their operations were not delayed. A

large portion of the British flotilla, under sir Richard Keats and sir Home Popham, reached Bathz on the 11th, and secured the navigation of the river as far as Lillo, to which place the enemy's flotilla retired, abandoning six of their gun-boats, which had grounded.

1809.

August.

Lord  
Chatham's  
Despatch.

The investing army was most unpleasantly lodged; the men built themselves huts, but the rain penetrated them, and rendered these dwellings of little service; positive orders having been given against landing more than a certain weight of baggage, many of the soldiers were without blankets, and there was scarcely a change of linen throughout the army. The position of the troops, close to the most unhealthy town in the island, caused these wants to be the more severely felt; for even the inhabitants of Middleburg, which is only five miles distant, speak of Flushing with horror, and it is a proverb in the island that "no one but a sailor can live there."

Letters  
from  
Flushing.

The troops were already knee-deep in water, which now began to flow so fast that scarcely an inch of dry ground was to be seen, and all the fresh water in the island was tainted;\* it rained much, and the army began to suffer in health; the sentries were frequently obliged to be relieved in consequence of sudden indisposition, and the men were

\* Throughout Zealand there are no springs or fresh water rivers. The rains alone supply the inhabitants with water. — *Narrative of the Campaign.*

1809. frequently carried from parade, being attacked by  
August. dysentery and intermittent fever. For the last week  
Letters the climate had been variable in the extreme. In  
from the morning it rained heavily; at noon there was a  
Flushing. burning sun, which produced intense perspiration,  
and the nights again became extremely cold; but  
the cold and hot damps were the most perilous, as  
the first caused rheumatism, and the other was ab-  
solutely pestilential. The men were now dying  
hourly: the troops stood for hours together up to  
their knees in water, and things began to wear a  
most gloomy appearance.

The batteries were not finished until the night of  
the 12th, and by noon on the following day the  
ships had taken their stations, and all preparations  
for the bombardment were completed. Previous to  
its commencement a flag of truce was sent to gene-  
ral Monnet, intimating that, as the fire would be very  
heavy, the British commander-in-chief would wish  
him to remove the women and children, who were  
promised free egress through the lines. General  
Monnet, assuming a lofty tone, and little regarding  
the dictates of humanity, sent for answer that he  
must decline the proposal, as he felt fully compe-  
tent to defend the women and children himself, a  
presumption which the event proved he was by no  
means prepared to justify.

Orders were therefore issued for the bombardment  
to commence, and about two o'clock on Sunday, the  
13th of August, both ships and batteries opened upon

the town. The effect was tremendous. The island shook <sup>1809.</sup>  
as if under an earthquake, and every report of the <sup>August.</sup>  
cannon was followed by a crash which loudly spoke <sup>Letters</sup>  
destruction. The batteries being all near the place, <sup>from</sup>  
the guns had their full force, and they appeared as <sup>Flushing.</sup>  
if absolutely tearing the city up from the roots.  
The cannonade was at first answered with spirit  
and several Dutch burghers were seen gallantly  
pointing the cannon on the ramparts; but the fire  
soon became too hot for these sober citizens, and  
even for the garrison. The opposing harbour bat-  
teries were demolished, the walls fell in large  
fragments, the churches took fire, the houses fell  
in, the town was fast sinking into a heap of ruins,  
and every thing became so enveloped in smoke  
that the British guns were aimed at random.

This evening a detachment, consisting of the <sup>Lord</sup>  
14th regiment and part of the light infantry bri- <sup>Chatham's</sup>  
gade of the legion, under lieutenant-colonel Nicolls, <sup>Despatch.</sup>  
forced an intrenchment in front of general Graham's  
position in most gallant style, making a lodgement  
within musket-shot of the town, and taking one  
gun and thirty prisoners.

The devastating cannonade was continued during  
the whole of Sunday afternoon and night, and al-  
though the town was repeatedly in flames, the  
enemy bravely kept up their fire. Gradually, how-  
ever, it became less frequent; instead of volleys it  
was reduced to single shots, and instead of the  
guns being fired at regular intervals, they were let

1809. off at random. About ten o'clock on Monday  
 August. morning sir Richard Strachan got under weigh,  
 Lord and passing immediately under the sea line of de-  
 Chatham's and passing immediately under the sea line of de-  
 Despatch. fence, poured in repeated broadsides for some hours  
 into the place, and brought down the town in  
 masses. Lord Gardner followed, and both vessels  
 anchored close under the walls. The garrison still  
 stood to their guns, but the ruins fell so thickly  
 around them that even the guns became buried in  
 the mass, and the fire of the brave defenders neces-  
 sarily ceased. Still no appearance of surrender was  
 evinced, and they obstinately kept up their colours  
 when they could no longer fire a gun.

Letters  
 from  
 Flushing.

This frightful slaughter continued till about five o'clock in the afternoon of the 14th, when the fire of the enemy entirely ceasing, it was also stopped on the side of the British. A summons was immediately sent in to general Monnet, who answered that he would reply to it as soon as he had consulted a council of war. An hour was given him for this purpose, but three hours having elapsed without an answer arriving, the bombardment was resumed, and once more the ships and batteries began to play upon the devoted town. The cannonade was now more tremendous than at first. Congreve rockets blazed about in terrific splendour, and Flushing was soon in flames. The fire raged unchecked amidst the darkness of the night, the cannon still thundering, and the walls, chimneys, and roofs falling under the stroke of the balls.

The interior of almost every house was laid bare, and when there was an interval of cannon roar, it was filled up by the howling of dogs and the shrieks of the distracted women in the fortress ; owls and bats flew affrighted around the light, and the whole scene presented a sublime but horrific picture of a successful siege.

1809.

August.

Letters  
from  
Flushing.

It having been discovered that a battery of three twenty-four pounders, which was erected on the left of the British line, was so far from the place as to be not only unable to injure the works of the town, but even to silence a *barbette* battery of two guns, which was advanced upon the dyke about five hundred and sixty yards in front of the fortifications, the dyke was ordered to be occupied one thousand yards in front of the existing batteries, and the enemy's advanced battery to be carried by assault, and the guns spiked, if it were not possible to keep possession of them, and put the battery in a state of defence. Lieutenant-colonel Pack was charged with the execution of these orders, and this gallant officer, at the head of detachments from the 36th, 71st, and the two light battalions of the legion, set out about midnight to carry them into effect.

Narrative  
of the  
Campaign.

All access to the battery from the low ground being cut off by deep ditches, the troops were obliged to march along the confined breadth of the dyke, and this approach was rendered still more perilous in consequence of the cut which had been

1809. made in the dyke to produce the inundation, being  
 August. exactly in front of the battery to be attacked. The  
 Letters night was dark and tempestuous, the cannonade  
 from was yet raging, and rockets were hissing through  
 Flushing. the air, when the storming party set out. In consequence of the extreme darkness, the men could only perceive the mouths of the guns upon which they were marching, when the fire of the town or the rockets threw the light in that direction. Under these discouraging circumstances they boldly dashed forward, and although met by a great superiority in numbers, carried the battery at the point of the bayonet, taking forty prisoners, and killing and wounding many of the enemy. Lieutenant Sprecher and three men of the second light battalion were killed, and seventeen men of both battalions wounded.\* The entire loss of the detachments in killed, wounded, and missing, was thirty-eight officers and men.

Lord Chat-  
ham's Des-  
patch.

Journal of  
major Rau-  
tenberg,  
MSS.

The bombardment continued until two o'clock

\* The author of "Letters from Flushing," after describing the capture of this battery by the troops under lieutenant-colonel Pack, adds the following tribute to the gallantry of general von Alten's brigade.

"I know not whether I have ever before mentioned the extraordinary gallantry of the German legion; there is not a regiment in our service which can excel these foreigners. In every service of peril they have been the first to volunteer; and it is equal justice to add that in the most dangerous services they have always conducted themselves with the most brilliant valour. I hope that their repeated proofs of the most heroic bravery will extinguish those remains of prejudice which the common people of England are but too apt to indulge against foreigners," &c. page 160.



in the morning of the 16th, when general Monnet requested a suspension of arms for forty-eight hours. Two hours only were granted him, the bombardment ceased, and colonel Long, of the staff, and captain Cockburn, of the navy, were sent to negotiate terms. In an hour the business was concluded by these officers, and the fortress was immediately put in possession of the British; the garrison, to the number of about five thousand eight hundred officers and men, surrendering as prisoners of war. Besides the number killed, which was considerable, upwards of one thousand wounded men had been transported to Cadzand previous to the complete investment of the town. The entire British loss in killed and wounded, from the 8th of August to the surrender of Flushing, amounted to only one hundred and thirty-six officers and men. The islands of Schauwen and Duiveland capitulated without opposition on the same day.

1809.

August.

Lord  
Chatham's  
Despatch.

## CHAPTER XV.

1809. FLUSHING presented an awful spectacle in the morning light. The buildings of the town having stood considerably above the walls, and the artillery having been pointed with the sole view of destroying them, had almost all been battered in, and the interior of the houses exposed to view; large chimneys, which, according to the Dutch fashion, had been built up in masses on the partition walls, having been struck down by the balls and shells, were precipitated on the roofs of the houses, which had fallen in under their weight. Congreve rockets had obtained admission through the openings thus made in the roofs, and the destruction which these missiles caused was frightful. More than two hundred and forty-seven private houses, two churches, and the town-house, containing many important documents, were destroyed; and about three hundred and thirty-five inoffensive persons, men, women, and children, had lost their lives; besides a far greater number who were wounded. The burghers of every rank were now seen digging the smoking heaps to search for the mangled bodies of their relations, and

August.

Letters  
from  
Flushing.

Narrative  
of the  
Campaign.

Letters  
from  
Flushing.

every moment some of these disfigured objects might be seen raised on biers, in order that they might be claimed by their relatives. The French had contrived to post the citizens in all the most exposed and dangerous places, and the destruction of life among them had consequently been considerable.

1809.

August.

Letters  
from  
Flushing.

Arrangements were now commenced for putting the town in a state of defence, as the enemy were assembling in great force on the opposite coast of Cadzand, where they had already established a regular encampment. But disease had begun to make frightful ravages among the British troops, and the army became every day less able to retain its conquest. The medical men in vain exerted all their ability to check the progress of the fatal disorder, which raged among them, but the root of it could not be successfully reached. It appeared to be contained in the atmosphere, every inhalation of which was poisonous. The nerves became relaxed and the blood corrupted. The disease commenced with every symptom of an ague; from thence it passed into a fever, and when the fever had subsided, the blood was putrified. Livid spots broke out on the arms, legs, and other parts of the body; and the unhappy sufferer, when in the absence of the fever some hopes were entertained of his recovery—died. It was observable that the foreigners in the English army did not at all suffer

1809. from this disease in the same proportion as the  
 August. British, to whom the mortality appeared to be almost  
 exclusively confined.

Journal of  
 major Rau-  
 tenberg,  
 MSS.

Narrative  
 of the  
 Campaign.

A strong garrison having been left in Flushing under general Picton, the rest of the investing army moved by successive divisions into South Beveland. General von Alten's brigade marched on the 17th, and crossing over at Sloo, were cantoned at and in the neighbourhood of Gravenpolder. The head-quarters, however, did not leave Middleburg until the 21st, on which day lord Chatham removed to Ter-Goes, a distance of fourteen miles. On the 23d the commander-in-chief reached the village of Aral-bendyk, thirteen miles on the road to fort Bathz; and, on the following day he accomplished the remaining six miles; so that not until eight days and a half after the surrender of Flushing were head-quarters established at Bathz.

This languid mode of following up the capture of Flushing, and the time which had already been consumed before that fortress, enabled the French to collect large reinforcements both on the left bank of the Scheldt, and in the neighbourhood of Antwerp; and lord Chatham soon found himself beset with difficulties which might have embarrassed a more able commander. Measures had been taken to cut the dykes of Tholen, and thus overflow the country between that place and Bergen-op-zoom, as also to lay the low ground in the neighbourhood of

Lillo and Liefkenshock, and the whole of the Polders\* between Hulst and the *Tête de Flandres* under water; a boom chain had been fixed across the Scheldt, and arrangements made for sinking vessels in that channel and obstructing its navigation.

1809.

August.

Letters  
from  
Flushing.

Bernadotte was reported to be at Cadzand with twenty thousand men; Dumonceau at Brussels with about the same number; and another corps under Kellermann was stated to be advancing from the Weser. Three hundred gun-boats had been brought from Boulogne to Cadzand by the canals, and it was evident that the enemy intended the reconquest of Walcheren. It was now also discovered that the French fleet could, if necessary, retire beyond Antwerp; the reduction of which place became, therefore, indispensable to the accomplishment of the main objects of the expedition.

Meantime the epidemic was raging in the British army; the men were dying at the rate of two hundred and fifty per week, and three thousand were already on the sick list. The supplies were nearly exhausted. Scarcely a week's provisions remained for the army, and the navy were but furnished for a month. The soldiers had neither flannels nor blankets, and their shoes were so worthless, that, after a few wettings, the soles came off.

Lord  
Cathcart's  
Despatch.Bissett's  
reign of  
Geo. III.Letters  
from  
Flushing.

\* Tracts of land recovered from the sea, and surrounded by dykes.

1809. Water was obliged to be sent for to England.

August. Even the medicine chests were deficient. Bark,  
 Letters the medicine which was considered of most service  
 from in the prevailing disease, had been brought out but  
 Flashing. in small quantities ; the supply was expended, and  
 none was to be procured in the country ; in short  
 there was a miserable deficiency of every thing  
 that could protect the soldier from the dangers of  
 the climate ; the condition of the army had become  
 frightful in the extreme ; every day diminished its  
 numbers, and heightened its distresses.

Journal of  
 major Ran-  
 tenberg,  
 MSS.

Under these circumstances the commander-in-  
 chief judged it prudent to take the opinions of the  
 generals of his army on the course which he should  
 pursue, and a council of war was assembled at  
 Bathz on the 27th. The lieutenant-generals were  
 required to state "how far it appeared to them ad-  
 visable that the siege of Antwerp should be  
 engaged in, it being believed that this operation  
 could alone ensure the destruction of the naval  
 arsenals, and the possession of their ships, and to  
 which operations the reduction of forts Lillo and  
 Liefkenschock was an indispensable preliminary  
 measure." The total French force at Bergen-op-  
 Zoom, Antwerp, Breda, on the left bank of the  
 Scheldt, and at Tholen, was estimated at thirty-  
 five thousand men. The effective British force was  
 thirty thousand ; but of these six thousand were  
 required in Walcheren ; two thousand in South

Beveland, and eight thousand to observe Bergen-op-Zoom and Breda, guard the depôts of stores and provisions, and perform the duty of escorts. Fourteen thousand, therefore, only remained for the siege of Antwerp, and reduction of forts Lillo and Liefkenschock; and the lieutenant-generals were required to consider "whether it was advisable to undertake operations so serious and extensive, with so small a force."

1809.

August.

The lieutenant-generals declared themselves to be of opinion, that under the circumstances which had been laid before them, the siege of Antwerp was impracticable, and, as the reduction of that place could alone effect the ultimate object of the expedition, that no possible advantage could result from attempting to reduce forts Lillo and Liefkenschock, or from undertaking any minor operation.

The opinion of the council of war having been communicated to the English ministry, lord Chat-ham was directed, "after providing effectively for the security of Walcheren, to return with the remainder of the army to England; at the same time he was required to give effect to any measures which sir Richard Strachan might think fit to adopt for obstructing the navigation of the Scheldt, and also to confer with that officer on the practicability of destroying any works which the enemy might have constructed at Terneuse, should they be found of

Letter  
from  
lord Castle-  
reagh to  
lord Chat-  
ham.

1809. sufficient importance to justify operations against them.”  
August.

Journal of  
major Rau-  
tenberg,  
MSS.

Fort Bathz was now demolished, and the troops in South Beveland were ordered to return to Walcheren. The first division marched on the 1st of September; head-quarters were re-established at Middleburg on the 2d, and the last division marched into the island on the following day. South Beveland was immediately occupied by the French division of general Dumonceau.

Letters  
from  
Flushing.

Lord Chatham embarked for England on the 11th of September, and was followed by the greater part of the army, including the second hussars of the legion, only two squadrons of which regiment had been landed. About sixteen thousand men, not more than about ten thousand four hundred of whom were effective, were left behind for the protection of Walcheren, and of this force sir Eyre Coote was given the command.

Sir Eyre  
Coote's  
despatch.

The Polder of St. Joostland being, from its proximity to South Beveland, that part which was most exposed to an attack, it was necessary to send two battalions there, and general von Alten's light infantry were selected for that purpose. This brigade had neither barracks nor quarters, and sickness was much more to be dreaded in St. Joostland than in the other part of Walcheren. The German troops, however, appeared much better able to stand the climate than the British, for although a detach-

Journal of  
major Rau-  
tenberg,  
MSS.



ment of the legion brigade was stationed in, 1809.  
 this island during the whole time that the army September  
 remained in Walcheren, comparatively but few men Letters  
 either died or were rendered non-effective by the from  
 disorder. Flushing.

Notwithstanding the appalling calamity with which the army was visited, reducing every day their numbers and efficiency, and the little prospect that appeared of their being able to keep possession of Walcheren, the British government still hesitated whether they should retain or abandon that island; indeed, their first intention was to retain it, and this, as has been supposed, to favour the negotiations of Austria with Napoleon. About the middle of September, preparations were made to renew and strengthen the works. Bricks and lime were sent out in large quantities from England, and about the end of October one hundred artificers arrived. Lieutenant-general Don now relieved sir Eyre Coote in his distressing command, which sir Eyre gave into his hands on the 29th.

Bissett's  
reign of  
Geo. III.

The medical department at length received a Journal of  
major Rautenberg,  
MSS. liberal supply of port wine and bark, but the inroads of the pestilence were not to be checked, and the mortality increased daily. In the beginning of November many battalions were reduced to fifty effective men, the average number of deaths being at this time thirty-five men daily.

Seeing the troops thus perishing before his eyes, general Don called a council of war, and the result

1809. of their deliberations at length brought an order  
 November. from England for the army to evacuate Walcheren.

Bissett's Effective measures were also directed to be taken  
 reign of for destroying the basin and naval defences of the  
 Geo. III. island, but these directions were neutralized by the  
 expression of a hope that events might render their  
 execution unnecessary, and the defences were slowly  
 and but partially destroyed. Nearly a hundred  
 Journal of transports arrived on the 20th and following days,  
 major Rau- bringing with them four fresh battalions to cover  
 tenberg, the embarkation in case of necessity. The sick,  
 MSS. heavy baggage, guns, and stores were got on board  
 without delay, and arrangements commenced for  
 evacuating the island.

General The French, however, were apprised of the in-  
 orders of : tended embarkation of the troops, and made active  
 sir George preparations for an attack, which, it was expected,  
 Don. would be attempted at the time of embarkation.  
 The generals in command of divisions and the com-  
 manding officers of artillery were therefore ordered,  
 as soon as the troops should have embarked, to  
 make immediate arrangements for disembarking and  
 taking the field.

The legion battalions were embarked on the 9th of  
 December, but the weather being boisterous, and  
 general Don conceiving it probable, from the active  
 and continual preparations of the enemy, that they  
 might hazard an attack, judged it expedient still to  
 hold the towns of Flushing, Middleburg, Terveer, and  
 fort Rammekens. No opposition, however, was

made, and the rear-guards being withdrawn on the morning of the 23d, the fleet then got under weigh. A few shots were fired from the enemy's batteries at Bresken, on the Cadzand coast; but although the guns were doubly loaded, the distance of the ships from the land was too great to allow of their being much affected by the fire, and one man only was killed, and two men were wounded. On the 25th, the fleet anchored in the Downs; general von Alten's brigade disembarked at Deal and Dover on the following day, and from thence marched to Bexhill barracks, which they reached at the end of the year. Nearly one half of the brigade were ill with the exterminating disease which had carried off so many of their companions in arms, and which had now received from the army the distinguishing but too moderate appellation of the "Walcheren fever."

1809.

December.

General  
Don's  
despatch.Journal of  
major Rau-  
tenberg,  
MSS.

Thus terminated the expedition to the Scheldt—an expedition in which nearly one-half of one of the finest armies that ever left the British shores either perished from sickness, or returned home sinking under a pestilential disorder—by which the treasury of England was uselessly deprived of twenty millions of money, and one million of annual taxes was added to the burthens of the country.\* Projected in ignorance, planned without judge-

\* Annual Register for 1809.

1809. ment, and directed with a degree of languor which  
December. would have been alone sufficient to prevent its  
success, this fatal expedition stands ingloriously  
prominent in the annals of a glorious reign, strikingly  
exhibiting rashness on the part of a government, and inefficiency on that of a commander.

## CHAPTER XVI.

WE shall now return to those regiments of the 1808.  
king's German legion, which, in the spring of 1808, September  
had been removed to Sicily, and which, while one  
part of the corps was co-operating with lord  
Chatham's army at the northern extremity of Na-  
poleon's territory, were aiding the operations of  
another British force at the southern limits of that  
emperor's dominions.

These regiments were, it is to be remembered,  
the third, fourth, sixth, and eighth battalions of  
the line, under the command of brigadiers du Plat  
and von Honstedt, and the third foot battery of  
artillery under captain Bussmann.

Up to the beginning of September the troops in  
Sicily experienced little other changes than those  
incidental to the frequent removal of the regiments  
from one part of the island to another. On the 2d of  
this month, however, the skirmishers of the eighth  
battalion, under lieutenant Marburg, and a detach-  
ment of the artillery of the legion under lieutenant  
Ueberfeldt, were suddenly ordered to embark at  
Melazzo, with an equal number of the English  
artillery and a hundred and fifty of the fifty-eighth  
regiment, the whole amounting to two hundred and

Narrative  
of captain  
Bussmann,  
MSS.

1808. thirty men, with an howitzer and two three-pounders;  
September and these detachments, together with the royal  
Malta fencibles, were, it was understood, to proceed  
Journal of on a secret expedition, under the command of lieu-  
8th line tenant-colonel Brysse of the engineers.  
battalion,  
MSS.

Narrative  
of captain  
Bussmann,  
MSS.

The troops sailed from Melazzo on the 3d of  
September, but were so long detained by calms,  
that a part only reached the gulph of Policastro,  
which proved to be their destination, on the after-  
noon of the 7th. The transports which then arrived  
contained the artillery, the detachment of the fifty-  
eighth, and from two to three hundred of the Malta  
regiment, and these anchored before the town of  
Damietta the same evening. A fire was now opened  
upon the place from two sloops of war, an armed  
transport, and a Neapolitan galliot, which was con-  
tinued throughout the night, and at day-break on  
the following morning, under cover of the fire of  
the sloops of war, the troops landed without oppo-  
sition.

As soon as the guns were mounted, the detach-  
ments advanced, and dragging the two three-  
pounders through the town after them, with the  
assistance of the sailors, placed the howitzer at its  
entrance, while the skirmishers drove the enemy  
from the hedges and vineyards which bounded the  
place.

The two guns having been brought up to a height  
on the other side of the town, the enemy retired  
out of fire, and took post on an adjacent hill.

Here they were kept in check by the main body of the infantry, while the remainder, together with the artillery and sailors, proceeded to dig out and set afloat thirty coasters loaded with oil, wine, silk, and other merchandize, which had been drawn on shore by windlasses, and covered with a breast-work of sand. Several casks filled with oil and wine were also found hidden in the sand, and ten twenty-four pound English caronnades, eight Neapolitan guns, two six-inch howitzers, and a considerable quantity of ammunition, were taken. The troops embarked the same evening at nine o'clock, on their return to Melazzo, where they arrived in safety on the 14th, having suffered no loss, and being amply repaid by their capture for the little labour with which it had been accomplished.\*

On the 9th of October the skirmishers of the third and fourth battalions were embarked as reinforcements for the troops in Capri, where the French had landed three thousand men; but Capri had capitulated before the reinforcements arrived, and the skirmishers returned to Sicily on the 23d.

During the winter months the troops were not disturbed; but in the following year, when the successes of Napoleon's arms on the Danube had checked the progress of the archduke John in

\* The German artillerymen, fifteen in number, received each sixteen dollars, twenty-four groschens prize money, or about £2 : 15 sterling.

1808.

October.

Narrative  
of captain  
Bussmann,  
MSS.Journal of  
3d line  
battalion,  
MSS.

1809. the north of Italy, a project to create a diversion  
 June. in favour of Austria was formed by lieutenant-general sir John Stuart, then commanding in Sicily, in concert with rear-admiral Martin, and an expedition against the kingdom and capital of Naples was planned and undertaken by these commanders.

Sir J. Stuart's despatch.

The British and German troops that were employed on this expedition amounted to about fifteen thousand men, to which was added a division of the Sicilian army under prince Leopold. The troops of the legion were the third, fourth, and sixth line battalions, and the third foot battery of artillery; the eighth line battalion alone remaining behind. Forty gun-boats accompanied the fleet; three line-of-battle ships, some frigates and smaller vessels formed the convoy, and the whole sailed from Melazzo on the 11th of June.

The fleet reached the coast of Calabria on the morning of the 13th, and its appearance induced the enemy immediately to abandon the greater part of their posts along the shore; at the same time lieutenant-colonel Smith, who had been detached to the coast opposite Messina immediately after the sailing of the fleet, with three battalions of infantry and the German battery of artillery, seized and disarmed the posts upon that line also.

After experiencing many calms and contrary winds, that part of the fleet which contained the British troops and German infantry anchored off Cape



Miseno, in the vicinity of Baia, on the 24th, and 1809.  
 preparations were immediately made for a descent June.  
 upon the island of Ischia.

Sir J. Stuart's despatch.

The command of the troops which were selected for this operation, amounting to two thousand three hundred and eighty men, with four six-pounders and two howitzers, was entrusted to major-general Macfarlane, who, under the fire of two of the British ships of war, and aided by the British and Sicilian gun-boats, forced a descent upon the island on the morning of the 25th, in the face of a formidable chain of batteries, with which every accessible part of the shore was perfectly fortified, and which were turned and successively abandoned as the troops gained a footing. About two hundred and fifty, or three hundred men fell into the hands of the British, and general Colonna, who commanded the enemy's troops, retired with his principal force into the castle.

On the morning of the 26th, the skirmishers of the sixth line battalion of the legion, under lieutenant von Hohnstedt, and a detachment of captain Harling's company of the same battalion, were landed at Cape Miseno, and, in conjunction with some marines and sailors from the fleet, gallantly stormed and took possession of a battery which was defended by a superior force of the enemy, whom they drove back, killing and wounding many, and taking twenty prisoners. The capture of this battery enabled the

Journal of 6th line battalion, MSS.

1809. navy to seize a division of gun-boats which had  
 July. taken shelter under its guns. The detachment of  
 the sixth battalion had only one man killed, and  
 six or eight men wounded.

Sir J. Stuart's  
 despatch.

The castle of Ischia was summoned by major-general Macfarlane; but general Colonna refused to surrender, and held out until the 30th. On this day, however, a breaching battery having been erected against the works of the place, he surrendered the castle on terms of capitulation.

Sir John Stuart and admiral Martin, conjecturing that the success and promptitude with which the landing on Ischia had been effected might influence the adjacent garrison of Procida, sent immediately a summons to the governor of that island, who, in the course of the day, submitted to the terms proposed. This surrender contributed to the almost entire capture or destruction of a flotilla consisting of about forty heavy gun-boats, which, expecting to find protection and co-operation from the artillery of the fortress, in the narrow strait that separates the island from the main, had, during the night and following morning, attempted to pass from Gaeta to Naples, and were there seized upon by the British ships.

Exclusive of the killed and wounded of the enemy in these different encounters, which was believed to be considerable, more than fifteen hundred regular troops were made prisoners; among whom were a general of brigade, two colonels, and upwards

of seventy-five officers of progressive ranks. Nearly one hundred pieces of ordnance, with their corresponding stores, were also captured.

1809.

July.

Lieutenant-colonel Smith's operations in Lower Calabria were not followed by such successes as those which attended the main body of the army in the gulf of Naples. Just as the garrison of the castle of Scylla had hoisted the white flag, a preponderating force of the enemy coming suddenly down to relieve the place, obliged colonel Smith to raise the siege, leaving his besieging train in possession of the enemy. This proved, however, but a temporary sacrifice, for on the night of the 2d of July, the enemy, struck by some sudden panic, again retreated from the coast, blowing up the works of the fortress, and leaving behind not only the British captured stores, but an immense quantity of ordnance and stores of their own, which had been placed here in dépôt. The British loss was trifling, and of the Germans only a few of the artillery-men were wounded.

Narrative  
of captain  
Bussmann,  
MSS.

Although the appearance of this expedition on the coast of Calabria had the immediate effect of causing a considerable body of troops, which had been detached from Naples as a reinforcement to the army of Upper Italy, to be precipitately withdrawn, as well as the whole of those troops which had been sent to aid Napoleon's usurpation of the papal dominions, the projected attempt on the city

Sir J. Stuart's description.

1809. and kingdom of Naples was obliged to be abandoned;  
 November. for besides a preponderating regular force which  
 Sir J. Stuart's despatch. Murat had assembled in the vicinity of his capital,  
 he was also aided by a large body of national guards,  
 and no hope could be entertained of a successful  
 attack upon his kingdom.

Sir John Stuart therefore decided upon returning to Sicily, and all means of defence in the captured islands having been destroyed, the fleet left the gulf of Naples on the 26th, and the troops were again at Melazzo on the 31st.

Journal of  
 captain von  
 Hohnstedt,  
 MSS.

The south-west coast of the island being disturbed by the incursions of privateers from the opposite coast of Tunis, which, taking advantage of the absence of the British cruizers, used to come over and interfere with the navigation, the sixth battalion of the legion were, on the 30th of November, removed to the fortress of Trapani, which, as well as the forts on the neighbouring islands, was garrisoned by the battalion. A number of gun-boats were also built here and manned by the regiment; telegraphs were established, the fortifications strengthened, and thus an ample demand made upon the services of the corps. During the remainder of the year no movements of any importance took place in Sicily; in the following June, however, Murat threatened the island with an invasion, and now commenced a period of most wearisome duty for the British and German troops.

A large force, supposed to amount to nearly thirty thousand men, were collected on the opposite coast of Calabria, where, spread out in several distinct camps on the mountains, they were clearly visible from Sicily with the naked eye. A number of vessels, capable of conveying at least ten thousand men, were in readiness on the coast, and every appearance indicated an intention on the part of the enemy to force a landing on the east shore of the island.

1809.

June.

Journal of  
3d line bat-  
talion,  
MSS.

To meet these demonstrations, all necessary precautions were taken by the general commanding in Sicily; the works on the Faro and coast north of Messina were put in a state of defence, while the south side of the island was placed under the protection of the British ships and gun-boats; the land force amounted to about fourteen thousand men, and occupied an extent of more than twelve English miles. Almost daily affairs took place between the ships and gun-boats; but the enemy's vessels were too well protected by batteries to risk their suffering any serious injury from such attacks, which served little purpose but to amuse the soldiers on shore. Frequent embarkations of troops were also made in the evening from the opposite coast. About this time a flotilla would get under weigh from the Calabrian side, and oblige the troops that guarded the opposite shore to turn out, and make preparations to oppose a landing. In this state of

Narrative  
of captain  
Buss-  
mann,  
MSS.

1810. watchfulness they were generally kept until the  
 September next morning at day-break, when the mockery  
 ended, and the French returned to their tents: in  
 short, although no serious operation was attempted  
 by the enemy, their maintenance of a threatening  
 attitude rendered constant vigilance indispensable  
 on the part of the troops in Sicily.

This state of demonstration on the one side,  
 and expectation and watchfulness on the other,  
 lasted for nearly four months; at length on the  
 16th of September Murat attempted a landing in  
 good earnest.

Narrative  
 of captain  
 George Appuhn, 3d  
 line bat-  
 talion,  
 MSS.

It was customary for the troops that were sta-  
 tioned on the coast opposite Calabria to be under  
 arms every morning before day-break, and on the  
 morning of the 18th before the moon had yet set,  
 some movements upon the water indicated the  
 approach of the enemy.

A thick fog covered the approach of their boats,  
 which seemed to take the direction of St. Stephano,  
 and a cavalry piquet, which had been stationed  
 here, soon gave notice that the enemy had landed  
 on the Marino in considerable force.

The alarm having been spread along the coast, the  
 skirmishers of the third and fourth battalions of the  
 legion, who were stationed at Mili, quickly pushed  
 up to the beach, and became immediately engaged  
 with the enemy's advanced troops, who had taken  
 possession of a height near the place where they

had landed ; the second light infantry\* at the same time moved up towards the same point from St. Placido ; the twenty-first regiment, third battalion of the legion, and two light six-pounders, soon afterwards joined ; so that, before it was fully day, about two thousand men were in readiness to oppose the invaders.

Major-general Campbell had been apprized of the approach of the enemy's boats about a quarter after four o'clock, and quickly repairing to Mili, took the command of the troops, which had been very judiciously posted by lieutenant-colonel Adam. The left wing (four companies) of the third battalion of the legion occupied the heights behind Mili, to oppose the advance of the enemy upon Rometta ; the remaining four companies, together with the twenty-first regiment, were posted in the Fiurama before that place, while the skirmishers occupied the vineyards in front.

The light troops on both sides became sharply engaged ; but the British ships and gun-boats being detained in the harbour of Messina by the wind and current, the enemy continued to land troops on the coast, and the debarkation was persevered in without intermission until about eight o'clock. Their boats came over in perfect order, covered by Scampavias and gun-boats from the Calabrian

\* Two battalions of light infantry were formed in Sicily, the first out of the light companies of the English regiments ; the second out of those of the foreign battalions in British pay.

1810. coast, and after having landed their men, with all  
September precision, between St. Stephano and Galati, returned  
with equal regularity to the Capo d'Arno.

General  
Campbell's  
despatch.

As these troops gained the shore, they ascended the heights, and occupied the whole crest of a ridge of rising ground, extending from the place of their debarkation to the front and ridge of the Mili Fiurama; meantime the mountain passes adjacent to this position were secured by the British and German regiments; the second light infantry hung upon the enemy's left and rear, and every precaution was taken for arresting their further progress.

The promptness of these arrangements appeared to have caused a panic among the invaders; for they were yet being executed, and general Campbell was engaged in eagerly looking for the enemy's further movements, when a sudden hesitation was perceptible in their ranks; the advance upon the heights was discontinued, and the troops nearest the shore began hastily to re-embark.

Major-general Campbell, having satisfied himself that they were in retreat, directed the twenty-first regiment with the guns to move briskly forward by the great road and beach from Mili, preceded by the legion skirmishers, and flankers of the twenty-first, while the right wing of the third German battalion remained in front of Mili, to cut off the retreat of the troops on the hill. These dispositions were completely successful; the troops



that were about to embark hurried with precipitation to the boats; several fell into the water, and the commanding general Cavignac was said to have only escaped by swimming. The guns were now brought to bear upon the boats, which induced some to return and surrender; but the principal object was the troops on the heights. These, seeing themselves surrounded on all sides, as well by the troops as by the country people, who had now joined them armed with guns, forks, and other weapons, and that their retreat to the boats was effectually cut off, laid down their arms, and surrendered as prisoners of war at discretion. They consisted for the most part of Murat's favourite corps, the royal Corsicans, amounting to upwards of eight hundred men, which with a stand of colours, a colonel and chief of the staff, a lieutenant-colonel commanding, with forty inferior officers including the aid-de-camp of general Cavignac, were conducted in triumph to Messina.

Except this affair on the 18th, no absolute landing in Sicily was attempted by the enemy, and in the beginning of October their boats being altogether withdrawn from the opposite coast, the British troops were relieved from their wearisome duty, and were no longer required to turn out before day-break.

1810.

September

Journal of  
3d line  
battalion,  
MSS.Narrative  
of captain  
George Ap-  
puhn,  
MSS.Journal of  
3d line  
battalion,  
MSS.

## CHAPTER XVII.

1809. THE gallantry of the British and German troops,  
July. and the able dispositions of the general by whom they were commanded—now raised to the peerage under the title of viscount Wellington—had, as we have seen, gained a brilliant victory at Talavera, defeated the efforts of the intrusive king, and caused the French veterans to retire from the field of contest—but the victors were unable to follow up their successes.

Napier. Privations, fatigue, and their late losses had weakened the numbers of the English army to such a degree, that a forward movement was quite impracticable; in vain were Cuesta and the Spaniards applied to for provisions; the necessary assistance to prevent the wounded from perishing could not even be procured, and the army was reduced to a state absolutely bordering on starvation.

A light brigade of about three thousand men, which, under general Robert Craufurd, had come up by severe forced marches, joined the army the day after the battle, and now took charge of the outposts.

On the 30th information was recieved at Talavera that marshal Soult was in march for the pass of Baños, and lord Wellington requested that a Spanish corps might be sent to oppose his progress. After twice refusing to comply with this request, Cuesta at length detached general Bassecour on the 2d of August; but Soult had by that time entered Plasencia.

This night also letters from sir Robert Wilson announced the appearance of the French at Nombella; Cuesta was now roused, and it was agreed to between him and lord Wellington, that the British should march to meet Soult, while the Spaniards should remain at Talavera and secure the rear; lord Wellington, however, supposing that Victor would endeavour to join Soult, and that the Spaniards would therefore be driven from Talavera, obtained Cuesta's promise that he would collect carts for the purpose of transporting as many of the English sick and wounded as would be removed; but this promise he shamefully violated.

On the 3d of August Lord Wellington marched to Oropesa with seventeen thousand men. In the evening, patroles of the first hussars of the legion fell in with Soult's outposts near Naval Moral, which shewed that the French were between the allies and the bridge of Almaraz. The same evening Cuesta informed his lordship that Joseph was again advancing, and on the following morning

1809.

July.

Napier.

Journal of  
of colonel  
von Lin-  
singen,  
MSS.

1809. the old Spaniard, under the pretence of aiding the  
 August. English against Soult, followed lord Wellington  
 Napier. to Oropesa ; thus inhumanly abandoning the British  
 sick and wounded to the enemy.

The situation of the allies now became critical : their progress in front was completely stopped ; the Tagus was on their left ; impassable mountains on the right, and Joseph and Victor were in their rear. Lord Wellington had no alternative but to cross the Tagus by the bridge of Arzobispo, and take up a line of defence behind that river ; Cuesta opposed this movement, and said he would fight at Oropesa ; but there was no time for humouring the Spanish general, and lord Wellington, leaving him to do as he pleased, marched the British columns at noon to the bridge of Arzobispo, and at two o'clock the whole army was in position on the other side of the Tagus.

Lord Londonderry's narrative.

General Craufurd's brigade and six guns were now pushed forward to the bridge of Almaraz, which, after being obliged to drag the guns by the force of men up the Meza d'Ibor, they reached on the evening of the 5th. The same day the headquarters reached Toraleda among the mountains, where they remained for the night, and resting at Meza d'Ibor on the 6th, reached Deleytosa on the 7th.

Cuesta did not long persevere in his intention of making a stand at Oropesa, but crossed the bridge of Arzobispo the day after the British, and leaving

a strong rear-guard there, protected by an entrenchment with twenty guns in battery, he moved the rest of his force towards Meza d'Ibor. 1809.  
August.

Marshal Victor entered Talavera on the 6th, and the wounded fell into his hands; but his treatment of them was in the highest degree creditable to that general's humanity; they were well fed and taken care of, and the reports addressed to lord Wellington, after Victor had given over his charge to marshal Mortier, stated that the wants of the British were attended to even in preference to those of the French. Lord Wellington's  
despatch.

On the 8th, the Spanish rear-guard, which consisted of two divisions of infantry and one of cavalry, was surprized and completely routed by general Mortier, and Soult prepared to effect the total destruction of the Spanish army, when king Joseph recalled the corps of marshal Victor to oppose Venegas, and the impending fate of the peninsula was again averted. The allies were now enabled to re-establish their line of defence; the British head-quarters were removed to Jaraicejo, the Spanish to Deleytosa, and the cavalry were pushed on to Truxillo, on the high road to Badajos. Napier.  
Lord Londonderry's  
narrative.

The troops were still suffering from want of provisions; from the commencement to the close of the march to Deleytosa no bread had been issued, and the men had tasted none for three whole days. In the first day's march from Oropesa, the forcible Napier.

1809. seizure of a drove of pigs afforded a temporary and  
 August. partial relief to the famished soldiers, and during  
 Lord Londonderry's narrative the first few days of their sojourn at Jaraicejo, they  
 were tolerably supplied ; but the rations were soon  
 exhausted, and they were again reduced to a scanty  
 and uncertain allowance. The conduct of the  
 Spaniards was most disgraceful; not only did their  
 authorities make no exertion to meet the necessities  
 of the British army, but the Spanish cavalry absolutely interrupted the provisions and forage which  
 was destined for its use. The effect upon the  
 cavalry regiments was soon manifest. Before the  
 Napier. middle of August a thousand men were completely  
 dismounted, and the horses of seven hundred others  
 were unserviceable.

The Spanish general Venegas was completely  
 routed by Sebastiani on the 11th of August at Al-  
 monacid, and King Joseph returned in triumph to  
 his capital.

The British were now threatened by a force of  
 at least seventy thousand men; and lord Wellington,  
 convinced that he could not operate with any effort  
 in Spain, decided upon retiring into Portugal: he  
 had already sacrificed a part of his ammunition to  
 obtain conveyances for the wounded men in the  
 first march from Oropesa; and to continue the  
 retreat without leaving his sick behind, he was now  
 obliged to abandon all his parc of ammunition and  
 stores, and, thus bereft, to commence his march  
 for Portugal. On the 20th the main body of the

army quitted Jaraicejo, and marched by Truxillo <sup>1809.</sup>  
 upon Merida, the light brigade taking the road to <sup>August.</sup>  
 Valentia de Alcantara. On the 24th head-quarters <sup>Napier.</sup>  
 reached Merida, and here Sir Arthur being able to  
 obtain provisions, and wishing to allay the excite-  
 ment which had been caused among the Spanish  
 junta by his retreat, halted for some days; he,  
 however, positively refused to co-operate again with  
 the Spaniards.

The retreat was continued, the German hussars pro- <sup>Lord Lon-</sup>  
 tecting the flanks and keeping up the communica- <sup>donderry's</sup>  
 tions of the army; and on the 4th of September the <sup>narrative.</sup>  
 head-quarters were established at Badajos. The  
 troops were disposed in cantonments along the Gua-  
 diana, where they were furnished abundantly with  
 provisions and forage; but here a pestilential dis-  
 ease assailed them. The fogs, which in the dry  
 season hang over the vicinity of the Guadiana, pro-  
 duce fever and dysentery, which, acting upon bodies  
 weakened by fatigue and want of nourishment,  
 carried off numbers. Not fewer than eight or nine <sup>Napier.</sup>  
 thousand men were computed to be in hospital, and  
 in a little time above five thousand had died  
 there.

Of the German battalions which were at first <sup>Journal of</sup>  
 hutted near Talavera Real, but afterwards, in con- <sup>captain</sup>  
 sequence of the extreme wet, were quartered in <sup>Stutzer,</sup>  
 that place, the seventh line battalion appears to <sup>MSS.</sup>  
 have suffered most from the Guadiana fever: out of

1809. twenty officers present seven were ill, and the com-  
November. panies frequently marched to parade not more than  
from three to six files strong. The hussars and  
artillery lost also several men.

Napier. The Spaniards, now left to themselves, met with  
a series of signal disasters. An army of more than  
fifty thousand men was defeated with tremendous  
loss at Ocaña on the 19th of November; and a few  
days afterwards, thirty thousand, under the duke  
del Parque, were routed and dispersed at Alba de  
Tormes. Gerona also, in the following month,  
was driven to surrender, and fortune seemed every  
where to favour the progress of the French.

Ciudad Rodrigo being endangered by the defeat  
of del Parque, and the Spanish force that remained  
after their late losses being sufficient for the mo-  
ment to defend the passes of the Morena, and cover  
Seville, lord Wellington decided upon no longer  
exposing his troops to the destructive climate of  
the Guadiana, and leaving general Hill with five  
thousand British and the same number of Portu-  
guese at Abrantes, he commenced his march for  
the north of Portugal. The army were put in mo-  
tion on the 15th of December, and in the beginning  
of the new year were established on a new line in  
the valley of the Mondego, where the health of the  
troops was soon restored. Head-quarters were at  
Viseu, the cavalry by single regiments at Golegao,  
Punhete, Torres Vedras, Celserico, and Santarem;



and the infantry (except one regiment which was 1809.  
left to garrison Lisbon) were distributed along the November.  
valley of the Mondego.

The German hussars were cantoned in Celerico, Journal of  
Trancoso, Guarda, and Pinhel, one troop under colonel von  
captain Aly being pushed forward to Escarijo, Linsingen,  
towards the Agueda; the line battalions were dis- MSS.  
tributed at Toyal, Pedroza, Castende, and Incu- Journals  
berto; the light troops, under major von Wurmb, at of line  
Noritz and St. Olaya; captain von Rettberg's battery battalions,  
of artillery remained with general Hill, while that of MSS.  
captain Heise followed the fourth division; the first Narrative  
foot battery, under captain Gesenius, continued at of general  
Lisbon, and served as a depôt, from whence the Hartmann,  
deficiencies of the other batteries were supplied. MSS.  
From this battery, in consequence of the remarkable  
steadiness and vigilance of the men, detachments  
for the convoy of stores to the army were specially  
selected, and to its captain was entrusted the res-  
ponsible duty of inspecting the guns and artillery  
stores in the chain of forts from Lisbon to Peniche,  
as well as those of the three important lines of  
Torres Vedras. To these defences lord Welling- Napier.  
ton's attention was now particularly directed; for  
the greatness of the French reinforcements forbade  
him to venture on any offensive operation, and con-  
ceiving the bold design of turning these vast moun-  
tains into an impregnable citadel, wherewith to  
defend Lisbon and provide for the retreat of his  
troops, he proceeded to make such dispositions on

1810. the frontier as would procure time to complete these  
February. works, to secure the resources of the country, and  
Napier. to give full effect to the other able arrangements  
which he had made for the defence of Portugal.

In the month of February, Ciudad Rodrigo was threatened by marshal Ney, and Badajos by Mortier; general Hill, therefore, advanced from Abrantes to Portalegre, and lord Wellington, desirous to succour Rodrigo, advanced his head-quarters to Celerico, sent a brigade of heavy cavalry to Belmonte, brought up the third division to Pinhel, and sent the light division across the Coa. This division, augmented in the following month by the addition of two Portuguese light battalions, a battery of horse artillery, and the first hussars of the legion, to four thousand men, became engaged in a series of remarkable operations under general Robert Craufurd, to whom lord Wellington entrusted the command of all the outposts.

Journal  
of colonel  
v. Linsin-  
gen, MSS.

The German hussars joined the light division on the 18th of March, and were immediately spread along the left bank of the Agueda, occupying a chain of posts which extended from Barba de Puerco to Fuente Guinaldo; the infantry were distributed in small parties in the villages between Almeida and the lower Agueda, and the guns were stationed at fort Conception.

The Agueda is subject to sudden floods, but when not flooded, it is fordable in many parts, and runs in an extremely serpentine direction, with banks in

some places nearly inaccessible. These circumstances rendered the greatest vigilance and activity necessary on the part of the light division, for the French were collecting by tens of thousands in their front, and already the enemy's cavalry, to the number of eight regiments, occupied a distance of not more than fifteen miles on the opposite side of the river, which they often crossed, and drove in the outposts; thus constantly calling forth the quickness and intelligence of general Craufurd's troops.

The light division was further strengthened by a corps of Spaniards under Carrera, which joined the English during the siege of Astorga. This fortress surrendered to marshal Junot on the 21st of April.

In the beginning of June, marshal Ney, at the head of fifteen thousand men, invested Ciudad Rodrigo, throwing two bridges over the Agueda, the one above, the other below the fortress. On the 8th, four thousand French cavalry crossed the river, and general Craufurd's situation became critical; he, however, daringly maintained his position on the unprotected plain, concentrating his troops at Gallegos and Espeja, and drawing in the hussar posts to the Azava, thus encouraging the garrison of Rodrigo, and protecting the villages between the Azava and the Coa from the enemy's foraging parties.

In proportion as the siege of Rodrigo advanced, the enemy increased their pressure on the British

1810. outposts, and the hussars were engaged in constant  
 June. skirmishing. They were also employed in escorting  
 convoys to the fortress, and in consequence of the  
 immense preponderating force of cavalry which  
 was opposed to them, (at least six thousand men,)  
 experienced little rest.

Correspon-  
 dence of  
 colonel  
 v. Linsin-  
 gen, MSS.

On the 21st the French proceeded to forage  
 with a few squadrons in front of the British pi-  
 quets; but general Craufurd causing a gun to be  
 fired, they withdrew. In about an hour afterwards,  
 however, they returned to the same place with fif-  
 teen squadrons and several regiments of infantry,  
 and captain Bergmann of the hussars, with about  
 thirty horses, was engaged with double his force  
 for upwards of four hours. The enemy had from  
 ten to twelve men and horses severely wounded,  
 without causing any loss to the hussars, and simply  
 displaying their force, they did not venture to pass  
 the stream. In the evening they withdrew.

Napier.

The following night, Julian Sanchez having  
 sallied out from Rodrigo at the head of two  
 hundred horsemen, and joined the light division,  
 marshal Ney was led to reinforce his troops on the  
 left bank of the Agueda, and to make a movement  
 against Craufurd in considerable force on the 25th.

On this day the batteries were opened against  
 the fortress, and four regiments of cavalry, as many  
 of infantry, and some guns advanced upon the  
 piquets, and after a skirmish of several hours drove  
 them across the Azava. The hussars lost but two

horses, both of which were shot under an old soldier named Rangenier. A general attack was this day expected; but the enemy contented themselves with keeping possession of the Azava, and placing strong outposts along the left bank of the stream. Carrera now retired to the dos Casas; but lord Wellington, hoping that the enemy, by detaching troops, would furnish an opportunity of relieving Rodrigo, advanced his head-quarters to Alverca.

1810.

June.

Journal of  
colonel von  
Linsingen,  
MSS.

Napier.

On the 26th two squadrons of the sixteenth light dragoons came to the relief of the hussars, none of whom, however, was general Craufurd willing to part with; but lord Wellington, who visited Gallegos the same day, and saw how much the Germans wanted rest, expressly ordered that the relief should take place. One squadron, therefore, marched the same day to Minneal, and another, the day following, to Mazal de Chao. The fourteenth light dragoons were also brought up to Val de la Mula. The cavalry outposts were now doubled, and the duty became very severe. Within the last few days the enemy had occupied the stream with strong detachments of infantry, and to a corporal's piquet of hussars, consisting of five or six horses, full a hundred of the enemy were often opposed; but the vigilance of the small British posts amply compensated for their deficiency in number, and so much was the enemy's jealousy excited on this occasion by the alertness of the German cavalry, that a hundred

Correspon-  
dence of  
colonel von  
Linsingen,  
MSS.

1810. doubloons are stated to have been offered by the general who commanded their outposts, to any party that would cut down one of the small British piquets !\*

June.

Correspondence of colonel von Linsingen, MSS.

An attempt was soon made. On the night of the 29th, all the infantry of the light division, except two companies of the ninety-fifth, fell back to about four miles from Gallegos, leaving two squadrons of the sixteenth dragoons, one squadron of the first hussars, and two guns in that place under the orders of lieutenant-colonel von Arentschild. The outlying picquet of the sixteenth was posted at the village of Marialva, about two miles in front of Gallegos, and this party the French attempted to surprise on the morning of the 4th July.

Journal of major Cordemann, MSS.

On this day nearly an hour before day-break,

\* The many rencontres which took place at the outposts during this period, led to frequent exhibitions of individual bravery, and among the most conspicuous on the side of the British, was a private of the German hussars named SCHROEDER.

Schroeder was an excellent horseman and swordsman, and gifted with a degree of daring seldom equalled. He was regularly the first in the attack, and the last in retreat, and so often distinguished himself on these occasions, that he became at length known by name to the French. *Ah ! vous voila monsieur Schroeder !* was often heard from their ranks, as the German was descried in advance, ready to signalize himself by some new exploit. A French officer, who, one day, came over to the British posts with a flag of truce, begged that he might be presented to the famous *monsieur Schroeder*, of whom he had heard so much, and having been formally introduced, paid him some high compliments on his gallantry. It has been ascertained that between the years 1810 and 1812, this man individually cut down twelve different persons, wounded many, and took twenty-seven prisoners.

the piquet at Marialva was attacked by so superior a force of the enemy's cavalry, that it was obliged to retire with precipitation upon Gallegos, and so quickly did the enemy follow, that both the retiring piquet and the pursuing squadrons appeared in front of the troops at Gallegos at the same moment.

1810.  
July.  
Journal of  
major Cor-  
demann,  
MSS.

Here the high state of efficiency and alertness in which the veteran Arentschild ever kept the troops under his command, was conspicuous. The reserve were found drawn out ready to take up the piquet; one squadron of the hussars under captain Krauchenberg was in front, having the sixteenth in line in its rear, and the guns were planted in the church-yard of the village.

Krauchenberg, seeing the importance of immediately checking the enemy's progress, led his squadron forward at a gallop to within about fifteen paces of the French line, and then spreading it out into a chain of skirmishers, engaged in a sharp fire with the advanced horsemen, upon whom the two guns also opened. This unexpected reception had the desired effect; the intended surprise was completely foiled, and daylight shewed nearly three regiments of French cavalry hesitating before the squadron of hussars.

Strict orders having been given by general Craufurd that no engagement should be unnecessarily entered into with a superior force of the enemy, the sixteenth commenced their retreat, covered by

1810. the squadron of hussars under Krauchenberg, and  
July. two guns of the English horse artillery under lieutenant Alexander Macdonald.

Journal of  
major Cordemann,  
MSS.

The village of Gallegos was defended by this little force for a considerable time ; a party of dismounted men, under cornet Cordemann, maintaining a small bridge in front, while two other parties of hussars under lieutenants George von der Decken and Schaumann observed two fords on the flanks. One of these fords was at length passed by the enemy in considerable force, while the hussars were at the same time pressed hard in the village. Captain Krauchenberg, therefore, ordered the guns to the rear with directions to unlimber on the other side of the town at a bridge which led from Gallegos to Alameda, and from whence the retreat of his squadron could be protected. This movement was well executed by lieutenant Macdonald ; and Krauchenberg, as soon as he saw that the guns were nearly in position, led his squadron off at a gallop to gain the bridge. The enemy followed with their utmost rapidity, and in column ; but the Germans had the speed of the French, and Krauchenberg was enabled to draw up his squadron at the other side of the bridge before they reached it. The head of the enemy's column, however, came close after the rear skirmishers of the hussars, and the leading divisions had passed the bridge, when Krauchenberg, taking advantage of a little disorder which the hasty pursuit had caused



in the enemy's ranks, suddenly charged the divisions which had passed. Full three times the strength of the hussars were, at this moment, opposed to them; but the well-timed charge succeeded, and the French were driven back in disorder. Again they advanced, confiding in their numerical superiority, and again the Germans charged and dispersed them. Three officers and from ten to fifteen men were cut down by the hussars, whose only loss was one horse killed, and four men and two horses wounded.

1810.

July.

Journal of  
major Cor-  
demann,  
MSS.Correspon-  
dence of  
colonel von  
Linsingen,  
MSS.

Krauchenberg maintained his position for some time, nor resumed his retreat until an order arrived from lord Wellington directing him to give up the bridge and retire on the infantry support, which had been judiciously posted by general Craufurd in some corn-fields in the rear. This, opening a fire upon the French cavalry as they cautiously followed the hussars, caused them some loss, and they gave up the pursuit, leaving the squadron to continue its retreat undisturbed.

Journal of  
major Cor-  
demann,  
MSS.

The conspicuous bravery of the German hussars in this little affair was a just subject of admiration and praise at the head-quarters of the light division. General Craufurd complimented the gallant squadrons in a speech which he addressed to them in their own language, and on the ensuing day thus noticed them in the division orders.

Correspon-  
dence of  
colonel von  
Linsingen,  
MSS.

Val de la Mula, July 5th, 1810.

“ Brigadier-general Craufurd, in making his

1810. report to lord Wellington of the affair that took  
July. place yesterday, did not fail to mention in terms of  
merited praise, the gallant manner in which captain  
Krauchenberg and cornet Cordemann of the  
first German hussars, with only part of a squadron,  
charged about three times the number of the  
enemy's cavalry close in front of a column, and he  
begs that captain Krauchenberg, cornet Corde-  
mann, and the non-commissioned officers and pri-  
vates that were engaged in this action, will be  
assured that it caused the admiration of the briga-  
dier-general, and all who saw it."

The following extract of a letter from lord  
Wellington to general Craufurd was also read to  
the hussars.

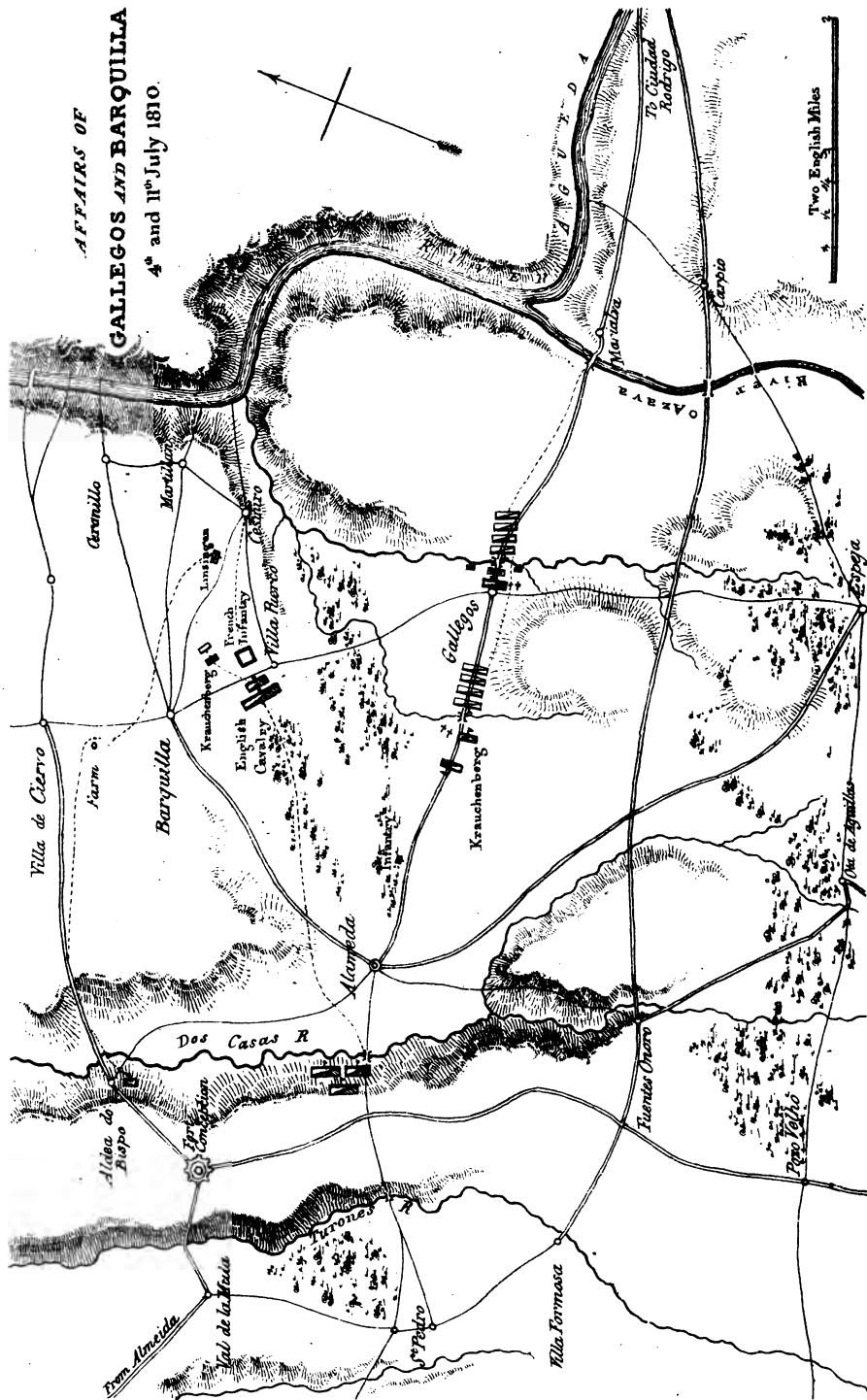
Journal of  
majorCor-  
demann,  
MSS.

" I have received your letter of the 4th instant,  
and am highly satisfied with the conduct of captain  
Krauchenberg, cornet Cordemann, and the squa-  
dron of hussars. I request you will inform lieute-  
nant-colonel von Arentschild that I shall take the  
first opportunity of laying before his majesty my  
opinion of the conduct of his excellent regiment  
during the long and fatiguing period that it has  
been upon outpost duty with you."

*AFFAIRS OF*

**GALLEGOS AND BARQUILLA**

4<sup>th</sup> and 11<sup>th</sup> July 1810.



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## CHAPTER XVIII.

THE skirmish at Gallegos not having been followed up by the enemy, general Craufurd took up a new position, placing his infantry and guns in a wood near fort Conception, and his cavalry, now reinforced by Julian Sanchez and Carrera, on the dos Casas. The French withdrew behind the Azava, leaving only a piquet at Gallegos; but their marauding parties infested the villages in front of the British position, and general Craufurd, desirous to put a stop to the excesses which they committed, formed a plan to surprise and cut them off, which he purposed putting in execution on the morning of the 11th. Taking with him four squadrons of English dragoons and captain Krauchenberg's squadron of the German hussars, the general marched, on the night of the 10th, towards Villa de Puerco, and placed the troops in ambuscade near that place. The squadron under captain von Linsingen was, at the same time, ordered to proceed from its station at Aldea da Bispo, and taking up its quarters for the night, at a farm between Barquilla and Ciervo, be prepared to cut off any of the enemy's cavalry that might endeavour to escape in that direction.

1810.

July.

Napier.

Narrative  
of lord  
London-  
derry.

Correspon-  
dence of  
colonel von  
Linsingen,  
MSS.

1810. According to expectation, about four o'clock on  
the morning of the 11th, a party of between thirty  
and forty horsemen were seen moving through a  
defile between Cesmiro and Martillan, taking the  
road to Barquilla. Another of the same strength  
followed, but did not venture beyond Martillan.  
As soon as general Craufurd saw the advanced party  
enter Barquilla, he set forward at the head of the  
five squadrons to effect his object, captain Krauchen-  
berg's squadron leading the column. The hussars  
made straight for the enemy's cavalry, but before  
they had yet come within charging distance, Krau-  
chenberg, perceiving the glimmer of bayonets in  
the corn, through which he rode, immediately ap-  
prized general Craufurd that they had infantry  
to contend with. The general briefly replied  
"charge them," and hurried on with the squadron,  
whose progress was much impeded by a stony  
road over which it had to pass, and the files became  
consequently extended; Krauchenberg, however,  
formed them up in as good order as the general's  
impatience would permit, and led his men towards  
the bayonets, which quickly disappeared, the  
infantry lying down as the hussars approached.  
When, however, the squadron had arrived within  
about fifty paces of the French, they jumped up,  
shewing a square of about two hundred men, and  
fired. Two horses were killed, and eleven men and  
eight horses were wounded; but only one wing of  
the squadron having received the fire of the square,

July.

Correspon-  
dence of  
colonel von  
Linsingen,  
MSS.

the rest remained effective, and Krauchenberg was about to charge with these while the French were yet reloading, when general Craufurd ordered him to leave the infantry to the other squadrons and attack the cavalry; he, therefore, galloped on. The French horsemen, seeing the hussars approach so strongly supported, judged it advisable to surrender, and the whole party, consisting of two officers and thirty-three men, became Krauchenberg's prisoners. Meantime a squadron of the sixteenth had been led against the square, but opening round it, they produced no effect, and passing on, got into confusion. The fourteenth now came up, and colonel Talbot, leading a squadron of this regiment, rushed upon the bayonets with daring intrepidity; but this charge was also unsuccessful. The brave fourteenth were received with a deadly fire, and their gallant colonel, with eight of his men, was killed upon the spot. Fifteen men and several horses were wounded, and the rest, crowding forward upon the sixteenth, increased the disorder. At this instant, enveloped in clouds of dust, appeared the squadron of captain von Linsingen, who, according to his instructions, had galloped up from the farm on hearing the first shot. These were, in the confusion of the moment, taken for French cavalry, and some of the enemy's horsemen really appearing on the other flank, the scattered squadrons were called in, and the French infantry made good their retreat to Cesmiro without losing a man.

1810.

July.

Correspondence of  
colonel von  
Linsingen,  
MSS.

1810. On this day Ciudad Rodrigo surrendered after a  
July. noble defence, and the Spanish troops departed  
Napier. from the light division and joined Romana at Badajoz. General Craufurd, still anxious to hold his ground, took up a new position a mile and a half from Almeida, and applied to lord Wellington for reinforcements; but his lordship knowing that it was not to be maintained, did not comply with his request, and repeated his former orders "not to fight beyond the Coa."

Craufurd, however, was resolved to fight on the right bank of that river, and the enemy's cavalry advancing on the 21st, he fell back to Almeida, under the protection of whose guns he placed his left flank; his right lay on some broken ground; but in his rear was a deep ravine forming the channel of the Coa, and the bridge which led across it was more than a mile distant, and in the bottom of the chasm.

His force was only four thousand infantry, eleven hundred cavalry, and six guns. Pouring down on these came nearly six times the number of cavalry and infantry, with thirty pieces of cannon, on the morning of the 24th, and a retreat upon the bridge was necessarily commenced. The French cavalry sweeping over the plain, forced the British horse to make with speed for the pass, which, owing to the interposition of the enemy's cavalry, some were not able to reach, and part of captain Krauchenberg's squadron of hussars were obliged to swim



across the river, exposed to the enemy's fire, 1810.  
and narrowly escaping capture. The guns and the July.  
Portuguese battalions next crossed, and the three Napier.  
British regiments alone remained to meet the furious  
onset of the enemy ; but, notwithstanding several  
ill-judged dispositions of general Craufurd, the  
quickness and intelligence of the battalion officers,  
and the gallantry and discipline of their men, ex-  
tricated the division from its perilous situation.  
Falling back slowly, yet disputing the ground  
whenever opportunity afforded, they made their  
way over a rugged country tangled with vineyards,  
passed the bridge in succession and gained the other  
side, and here, supported by the artillery, the whole  
drew up, and defeated three several attempts of the  
enemy to force the passage. Heavy rains caused  
the combat to cease about four o'clock, and the  
division retired behind the Pinhel river, having lost  
in killed, wounded, and prisoners, three hundred  
and eighteen officers and men, two hundred and  
seventy-four of whom were British. The hussars  
had only a few horses killed and wounded. The  
French lost above a thousand men.

The enemy's posts began to thicken on the Pinhel  
river ; but Massena's design was not yet apparent,  
and from the 25th to the 27th lord Wellington re-  
mained quiet. On the 28th, however, he withdrew  
the main body of his infantry behind the Mondego,  
leaving one division at Guarda, and advancing the

1810. cavalry to Frenadas, and thus awaited Massena's  
September further movements.

Napier. On the 15th of August, Almeida was formally invested, and lord Wellington expecting that the garrison would make a vigorous resistance, and that he might still further delay the enemy's advance, re-crossed the Mondego, and occupied his old position; but the unexpected surrender of that fortress on the 27th caused the army to be again withdrawn.

On the 1st of September Regnier entered Sabugal, the British piquets at Pinhel were attacked on the following day, and lord Wellington, transferring his head-quarters to Louvea, withdrew his infantry behind Celerico. Regnier, however, suddenly returned to Zarza Mayor, and the French projects became again obscured.

At length Massena prepared in good earnest to invade Portugal, and strange to relate, selected the very worst line of march that offered itself, namely, the road by Viseu and Coimbra. This line, he had been credibly informed, was easy; no important position, he believed, covered Coimbra, and he was absolutely ignorant of the lines of Torres Vedras. He, therefore, resolved to assemble all his forces, amounting to about fifty-five thousand infantry and eight thousand cavalry, and pour in one solid mass down the right bank of the Mondego, not doubting to reach Coimbra before general Hill could join Lord Wellington.

Wishing, however, to keep his intended line of

march concealed, he disposed his columns so as to threaten three different roads, and it was for some days uncertain by which route his main body was to be expected. When the infantry retired behind Celerico, the cavalry remained in that place, the hussars keeping the outposts; on the 4th, the latter were reinforced by a brigade of heavy dragoons, which divided the duty with them, a hussar officer always taking the command. Until the 15th, the enemy's movements did not call for any more active operations than occasional skirmishing; on this day, however, the British posts at Guarda, Celerico, and Trancoso, were driven in, and the latter chased towards Monqualde; generals Hill and Leith, under the latter of which officers a reserve had been formed at Thomar, were therefore ordered to concentrate on the Alva, for Massena's intentions were no longer doubtful.

Early on the morning of the 16th the enemy's cavalry again pushed forward, and closely following the German hussars through Celerico, got considerably in advance of their infantry. Captain Aly, who had the rear squadron, profiting by this circumstance, quickly formed up about thirty of his men, and charged the French advanced horsemen, several of whom were cut down, and some were made prisoners. This caused the enemy to keep for a time at a more respectful distance; but in the afternoon they again pressed on, and lieutenant George von der Decken, who commanded the rear skirmishers, spi-

1810.

September

Journal  
of colonel  
von Lin-  
singen,  
MSS.

1810. ritedly made front as they were debouching  
 September from the village of Cortiçao, and dashing against  
 Journal of the head of their column with a few files,  
 colonel von brought several of his pursuers to the ground.  
 Linsingen, MSS. The brave skirmishers, however, paid dearly  
 for their success; for cornet Teuto was killed,  
 lieutenant Decken and four men were wounded,  
 besides two horses killed and one wounded. The  
 hussars then retired to Sampayo without molesta-  
 tion, and were relieved by the fourteenth; but an  
 officer of this regiment having been taken prisoner  
 while visiting his posts in the night, they resumed  
 the duty on the following morning.

Napier. The enemy now ceased to press forward on this  
 road, sending only small patrols to Sampayo, and  
 it was soon ascertained that Massena had turned  
 off to the bridge of Fornos. Lord Wellington,  
 therefore, directed his main body upon the Alva,  
 withdrew the heavy cavalry from the front, and  
 placed the light division at St. Romao, to cover his  
 head-quarters, which were that night transferred  
 to Cea.

Journals of On the 18th the French advanced guard entered  
 line bata- Viseu; general Pack's Portuguese brigade was im-  
 lions, mediately pushed across the Mondego, and posted  
 MSS. behind the Criz; and on the following day the  
 German brigades of the first division entered  
 Coimbra. On the 20th colonel Waters of the staff  
 having been sent forward from head-quarters with  
 four hussars to reconnoitre the enemy's movements,

returned with the baggage of a French general officer, and it was now known that Massena was marching in one mass on the road to Viseu.

1810.

September

Journal of  
colonel von  
Linsingen  
MSS.

The following day the hussars passed the Mondego at Barca de Cova, following the 3d, 4th, and light divisions, which were now brought to the right bank; the light division was posted at Mortagao in support of Pack, and the other two divisions in the villages between the Sierra de Busaco and Mortagao, the cavalry occupying a plain in front of the latter place.

Napier.

But it was still doubtful whether Massena would not endeavour to reach the main road leading from Oporto to Coimbra; for one of his army corps still pointed towards the Vouga; the first division was, therefore, marched upon Mealhada, and colonel Trant was directed to join it with his Portuguese. Meanwhile generals Hill and Leith had arrived on the Alva; thus, on the day that the main body of the enemy entered Viseu, both corps of the allied army were united, and Massena's project of surprising Coimbra was completely baffled.

The main body of the army now ceased to press forward on this line of march, but turning towards the British left, directed their steps upon Viseu. Lord Wellington, having ascertained this change, altered accordingly his line of retreat. He threw the light and fourth divisions to the north bank of the Mondego, and advanced the first division from Coimbra, where it had latterly been stationed, to

1810. Mealhada, leaving on the south side of the Mondego the third division and the cavalry, to keep open the communications with generals Hill and Leith, as soon as which generals had effected a junction, these corps were to follow the rest of the army across the river. It was now manifest that Lord Wellington was preparing to offer the enemy battle, and not many days elapsed before the general expectation was fulfilled.

Journal of  
colonel von  
Linsingen,  
MSS.

The hussars of the legion arrived on the 21st behind Mortagao, about seven leagues from Coimbra, where the light division and several Portuguese regiments were already stationed. The following day the Germans were again on the outposts, and on the 24th captain Aly had another opportunity of attacking the French chasseurs, from whom he took seven prisoners. The whole of that part of the army which was under the immediate orders of the commander-in-chief, had crossed the Mondego by the 26th, on which day the corps of generals Hill and Leith reached that river; the light division and the cavalry were then pushed forward as far as Santa Comba Dao to meet the enemy's advance, and the fourth division occupied the left of the mountain of Busaco, where lord Wellington had now determined to take up a position.

Lord Londonderry's  
narrative

The light division retired, according to instruction, before the enemy's advance, coming into occasional contact with them; but with little loss on

either side; it was then placed upon some commanding heights above the great road to Viseu, so as to communicate with the first and fourth divisions. 1810. September Lord Londonderry's narrative. Generals Hill and Leith had now arrived, and took post with their divisions on the right, while the line brigades of the legion were placed as reserve in rear of general Craufurd. The cavalry, not being available on the heights, were sent to the plain in front of Mialhada.

The enemy shewed a strong force in front of the third and light divisions on the 26th, and it became evident that Massena was preparing to attack the almost impregnable position of the British. Before day-break on the following morning, the riflemen of the legion under major von Wurmb were sent forward to meet the enemy's tirailleurs, and a sharp skirmish ensued. Journal of major Heineemann, MSS. Three sergeants and five of the legion were killed, and major von Wurmb, Captain Stolte, Lieutenant von Düring, three sergeants, and thirty-six men wounded. The enemy's skirmishers were, however, driven back through the village of Busaco; but here the German detachment was near being cut off; for two heavy columns of French infantry appeared in full advance upon the British position.

One of these columns moved against the division of general Craufurd, the other against that of general Picton (the third), which stood on the right of the first division. They pressed forward with

1810. great spirit and determination, that which was op-  
 posed to the third division being evidently the one  
 that was intended to produce the greatest effect.  
 Grape and round shot were poured upon them as  
 they ascended the heights; but, undismayed, they  
 continued to mount, and, gaining the summit, ac-  
 tually formed. But there was no support in their  
 rear, and the British and Portuguese vigorously  
 meeting them with the bayonet, they were hurled  
 over the cliffs and crags, after a short contest,  
 and borne back into the plain with tremendous  
 slaughter.

September  
 Lord Lon-  
 donderry's  
 narrative.

The other column attacked general Craufurd  
 with equal intrepidity; but one volley from the  
 English regiments of the light division, followed by  
 a charge of bayonets, sent the hardy assailants  
 down the hill in fearful disorder.

Journal of  
 captain  
 Stutzer,  
 MSS.

The German line battalions now pressed forward,  
 and throwing off their knapsacks, prepared to join  
 the light division in its work of destruction;  
 but the victory had been already decided; the  
 British remained masters of the field, and the legion  
 riflemen were alone sent forward to gall the re-  
 tiring masses as they hurried from the heights.

Lord Lon-  
 donderry's  
 narrative.

As one of Massena's corps had not been engaged,  
 a repetition of the attack was expected by the  
 British on the following day; but the French gen-  
 eral was prudent enough not to risk another discom-  
 fiture, and soon after day-light he was seen moving.



with his entire force upon the Mialhada road, with <sup>1810.</sup>  
the evident intention of turning the British left. <sup>September</sup>  
Lord Wellington, therefore, abandoned the heights,  
leaving the light division, and captain von Linsin-  
gen's squadron of the German hussars, as rear-  
guard, and in the dusk of the evening resumed his  
retreat on the line of the Mondego.

The loss of the French in this battle was esti- <sup>Lord Lon-</sup>  
mated at between five and six thousand; that of <sup>donderry's</sup>  
<sup>narrative.</sup>  
the British fell considerably short of one thousand.

## CHAPTER XIX.

1810. THE light division and one squadron of the legion  
September hussars remained, it has been stated, on the heights  
of Busaco, while the main body of the army resumed its retreat. Early on the morning of the  
Journal of colonel von 29th, large bodies of men were discernible from  
Linsingen, MSS. the heights, and general Craufurd not being able  
to ascertain at that distance of what description of  
persons they were composed, sent down captain von  
Linsingen with his squadron to ascertain the point.  
After scrambling with difficulty over the numerous  
dead bodies by which their path was blocked up,  
the hussars reached the crowd, and found it to  
consist of Portuguese peasants, who were assembled  
round from three to four hundred wounded men  
who had been abandoned by the enemy.

These unfortunate creatures had been so disabled  
that they were unable to move, and they now lay  
in momentary expectation of being murdered by the  
peasants. On seeing the hussars, they implored  
their protection, which was readily given ; some  
litters that were found in the field afforded means  
of transport, and driving off the peasants, the  
Germans succeeded in getting the unfortunate fel-

lows conveyed to the neighbouring convent, where they were taken in charge by the monks.

1810.

September

The squadron followed the march of the army in the evening, and on the following night reached Fornos, where they found the remainder of the regiment. Here the outposts, under captain Krauchenberg, were attacked the next day, and had to sustain a long skirmish, in order to admit of the rest of the cavalry getting through a defile which led from the place into a large plain that opened towards the Mondego. Several men fell, and captain Krauchenberg was wounded. Arrived in the plain, the hussars were taken up by three regiments of English cavalry and a battery of horse artillery, which were there drawn out, but without any intention of making a stand; and after a few effective cannon shots had been fired upon the enemy's advance as it defiled from the village, the British cavalry and guns resumed their retreat, and for some hours during the middle of the day were suffered to proceed unmolested. They retired, however, much too leisurely, and the rear-guard became consequently involved in rather a serious skirmish at the passage of the Mondego. This river was to be crossed by a ford below Coimbra, from whence the road led through a defile of nearly three miles in length, and the head of the British column had scarcely entered this defile, when the French cavalry, discontinuing the forbearance which they

Journal of  
colonel von  
Linsingen,  
MSS.

1810. had hitherto assumed, rushed towards the ford in  
October. considerable force, and swarmed in front and flank  
Journal of of the German hussars, who brought up the rear of  
colonel von the column. Infantry were also seen running up  
Linsingen, MSS. in their rear. Seeing that the safety of the column  
demanded that a stand should be made here, Arents-  
child immediately sent two squadrons of the hussars  
across the river and posted them in front of the  
defile, keeping the other two squadrons on the right  
bank to check the enemy's advance, and these had  
now to sustain the whole weight of the French  
cavalry, who rushed forward and endeavoured to  
cut them off from the ford.

But the little rear-guard preserved a bold front,  
and when the enemy's advanced horsemen plunged  
after them into the stream, they wheeled about, and  
stoutly opposed their progress. Several horses fell,  
and the riders were drowned; but some of the  
Germans, dismounting on the opposite bank, poured  
in a sharp fire upon the French, and covered the  
passage of the rear files. To meet these the enemy  
also dismounted some men, and their fire proved  
most destructive; the hussars, however, held their  
ground until the French infantry came up, and then  
followed the column, whose retreat through the  
defile had been now secured.

Captain Krauchenberg and lieutenant Schaumann  
were both wounded in this encounter, the former  
severely; four men and six horses were killed,

thirteen men and eight horses wounded; and three men and four horses missing.\*

1810.

October.

It was the left of the army, under general Spencer, that crossed the Mondego by the ford, the main body having marched straight upon Leiria by the high road; general Spencer's corps, however, came into this line of march near Pombal, and the head-quarters were at Leiria on the 2d. Here the army rested until the morning of the 5th, when the retreat was resumed, and the same evening head-quarters were established at Alcobaça.

Lord Londonderry's narrative.

The crowds of men, women, and children, who, in obedience to the proclamation which had been issued to the Portuguese inhabitants, had abandoned their dwellings, and were now following the fortunes of the British army, without scarcely a hope of being again restored to their homes, rendered this day's march most distressing to all who witnessed it. The old and infirm, as well as the robust and young, carrying with them all their most valuable effects, covered the roads and fields in every direction, and often were the weary fugitives, unable to carry further the articles which they had endeavoured to save, forced to leave them on the way side, and then to struggle onward bereft of all their little property. This apparently harsh mea-

\* It is recorded in one of the MS. accounts of this skirmish, that, during the fight, a large dog, which had for some time attached itself to the hussars, seeing one of them in the water, plunged in, and brought the man out through the midst of the combatants.

1810. sure was adopted by lord Wellington to increase  
 October. the difficulties of the invading army, by depriving them of all the resources in their front; and although its immediate effects were revolting to humanity, its ultimate consequences led to the evacuation of Portugal by the French, and, perhaps, saved that country from subjugation.

Journal of  
 colonel von  
 Linsingen,  
 MSS. A piquet of the German hussars which had been posted as rear-guard in front of Leiria, was attacked by the enemy soon after the departure of the main body of the army from that place. The French advanced with a considerable force of cavalry and six guns, and drove the hussars through the town with the loss of six men and three horses in wounded and prisoners.

Napier. The road was crossed by a succession of ravines, and captain Cox, of the sixteenth, took advantage of one of these to charge the enemy, whom he succeeded in keeping back until the British light cavalry brigade and a troop of horse artillery came up. The French were now vigorously opposed, and their progress delayed, but with the loss of three officers and fifty men to the British; the enemy lost a considerable number more; among the rest were some officers, one of whom was the prize of corporal Bergmann of the hussars.

Journal of  
 colonel von  
 Linsingen,  
 MSS.

Napier. During this delay Leiria was cleared, and the army retreated, the right by Thomar, the centre by Rio Mayor, and the left by Obidos: Massena followed in one column by Rio Mayor.

On the 7th colonel Trant daringly penetrated into Coimbra, at the head of his Portuguese, and took possession of the French marshal's depots and hospitals, containing five thousand men; but Massena continued his march, and in the afternoon of the 8th, his advanced guard came so unexpectedly upon the piquets of the sixteenth, at Alcoentre, that a battery of artillery and all the baggage were near falling into the enemy's hands; the piquet, however, rallied on their reserves, and re-entering the town, drove back the French, and took from them ten or twelve prisoners.

1810.

October.

Journal of  
colonel von  
Linsingen,  
MSS.

On the 8th the main body of the cavalry retired from Alcoentre to Quinta de Torre, about six miles to the rear, leaving captain von Linsingen's squadron of the German hussars on piquet, near Alcoentre. Between this piquet and Quinta de Torre a squadron of the sixteenth was posted as reserve, and captain von Linsingen was directed to keep back the enemy's advanced guard as long as possible.

Correspon-  
dence  
of colonel  
von Linsin-  
gen, MSS.

About noon on the following day, the third regiment of French hussars appeared in march, followed by a regiment of chasseurs in close column. To these captain Linsingen could oppose but eighty horses; but the ground on which he stood being higher than that occupied by the enemy, from which it was divided by a stream and defile leading to a little bridge, a small force could here be rendered very efficient, and he prepared to dispute the passage of the bridge.

1810.      Ordering his skirmishers, who were posted on  
October.      the other side of the stream, to join the squadron im-  
Correspon-      mediately on the approach of the enemy, he placed  
dence      a small body of dismounted men in ambuscade, on  
of colonel      the height above the bridge, upon which they had  
von Lins-      a direct fire. This party, being hidden by the trees  
ingen,      on the height, the enemy were ignorant with what  
MSS.      force they had to contend, and hesitated for some  
time before they ventured to pass the bridge, sending  
several squadrons up the stream to look out for a  
ford. Torrents of rain, however, obliged the hus-  
sars, after a time, to give up firing, and one squa-  
dron of the enemy then crossed, followed by the  
rest of the column at a little distance. The piquet  
was posted at about a hundred yards from the end  
of the defile, and as the enemy deployed from  
thence, Linsingen attacked their advance, and after  
an obstinate contest, drove the leading divisions  
back into the pass, which became completely filled,  
the column meeting the divisions as they faced  
about. An officer and about thirty men were  
made prisoners by the hussars, who might have  
impeded the progress of the enemy for a conside-  
rable time, had not the squadrons which had been  
sent up the stream found a ford, and were, by that  
means, enabled to threaten the piquet in rear.  
This obliged Linsingen to make a hasty retreat,  
which was much embarrassed by the number of his  
prisoners, and the greater part of these were conse-  
quently enabled to escape. The enemy pressed after



the squadron in close order, as fast as their horses could gallop; and although a few of the best mounted of the hussars, who were sent forward under cornet von der Wisch, checked their progress for a few minutes, by charging them as they crossed a moor over a narrow road, the other French squadrons got round the obstacle, and again put the Germans to their speed. The reserve were not yet in sight, and no hope of a successful stand was offered to the hussars for nearly two miles, when a bridge presented itself. By this time the two leading divisions of the enemy were some distance in advance of their column, and as soon as about thirty had passed the bridge and formed, Linsingen again led his exhausted squadron to the charge, which the enemy did not await, but went about, and were driven with rapidity back upon the column, whose advance they completely stopped, crowding the bridge in the greatest confusion. But again one of their squadrons threatened the rear of the hussars, and again Linsingen was obliged to retreat, losing seven or eight prisoners which he had just taken. And now another long defile was to be passed, the enemy close at his heels, and going at such a pace that the hussars could with difficulty keep a head of them. Many brave fellows fell wounded from their exhausted horses, without a possibility of any assistance being afforded them; and it was a matter of surprise how men who had had no provisions for two days, and horses that were without forage for twenty-four hours,

1810.

October.

Correspondence  
of colonel  
von Linsingen,  
MSS.

1810. could have held out with so much energy. At  
 October. length they cleared the defile, and were cheered  
 by the sight of the reserve, about half a mile before  
 them. Upon these they rallied, and charging with  
 them, checked the pursuit of the enemy. In this  
 affair the hussar squadron had two men and two  
 horses killed, and one sergeant, eight men, and  
 seven horses wounded; captain von Linsingen also  
 received four sabre cuts, but none of sufficient im-  
 portance to oblige him to leave the field. To  
 the great distance from the piquet, at which its  
 support was placed, the loss is to be mainly  
 attributed, as also the escape of more than thirty  
 prisoners; two officers, one man, and a few horses  
 only were brought away; but the enemy had suf-  
 fered considerably in killed and wounded, whose  
 number, according to the statements of some pri-  
 soners that were afterwards taken, amounted to one  
 officer and five men killed, and thirty-two severely  
 wounded.

Correspon-  
 dence  
 of colonel  
 von Lin-  
 singen,  
 MSS.

The check given by the squadron of the sixteenth  
 kept the enemy back long enough to admit of the  
 British cavalry and artillery, at Quinta de Torre,  
 turning out, and the French awaited the arrival of  
 their infantry, which coming up in about an hour,  
 the British resumed their retreat, covered by captain  
 Aly's squadron of the hussars, and two squadrons  
 of the royals. In following these, the French ad-  
 vanced guard of chasseurs were imprudent enough  
 to march, unsupported, a considerable distance in



front of their infantry, and Aly, taking advantage of the circumstance, charged them so unexpectedly with his squadron, that they broke, leaving one officer, nineteen men, and eighteen horses in the hands of the hussars, who, with the exception of a slight wound received by captain Aly, remained uninjured.

1810.

October.

Correspondence of  
colonel von  
Linsingen,  
MSS.

This night three squadrons of the Germans were encamped behind Castanheira, and one at Alemquer, near which latter place, on the following day, they had another skirmish with the enemy. On this day the British cavalry were drawn within the lines of Torres Vedras, and the French marshal had, for the first time, a view of those formidable works, before which his army was destined to suffer such privations, and from whence they were ultimately obliged to retire in mortification and disappointment.

A party of the legion light detachment, under captain von dem Bussche, had some smart skirmishing with the enemy's tirailleurs on the 12th, in front of Sobral, and checked their advance; and on the 14th, in conjunction with the piquets of the seventy-first, and another detachment of the legion, under captain Langrehr, were again engaged. Lieutenant Müller, of the fifth line battalion, and nine rank and file of the fifth and seventh battalions, were wounded on these occasions; lieutenant Müller's wound proved mortal.

Correspondence of  
gen. Löw,  
MSS.

The infantry of the legion entered the lines with the first division of the army on the

1810. 15th, and were cantoned in three villages on the  
 October. right of the centre redoubt; the hussars went to  
 Narrative of general Mafra; captain von Rettberg's battery of artillery  
 Hartmann, to Zibreira; that of captain Heise, now under the  
 MSS. command of captain Andrew Cleeves, with the  
 fourth division, to La Runa, and the disposable  
 men of the first battery, under captain Gesenius,  
 were withdrawn from Lisbon to fort Santa Graca.

Napier. After several days' reconnoitring, Massena be-  
 came convinced that he had no chance of success  
 in an attack upon the lines, and disposed his  
 troops so as to form a species of blockade. To  
 collect provisions sufficient to supply the wants of  
 his army until reinforcements reached them, he  
 foraged the country in his rear, which lord Wel-  
 lington sought to prevent by drawing down upon  
 him all the militia of the north.

Journal of To aid these a brigade of cavalry, consisting of  
 colonel von the first German hussars, and the tenth light dra-  
 Linsingen, goons, together with a Spanish battalion, were  
 MSS. moved, on the 22d, to Ramalhal, from whence  
 patrols were sent, the enemy's outposts alarmed,  
 and his foraging parties driven back. On one of  
 these occasions, corporal Cristoph Meyer, with  
 Guelphic twenty hussars, attacked a strong detachment of the  
 archives, enemy, consisting of both cavalry and infantry, which  
 MSS. were posted on a height, overthrew them, and brought  
 in one officer, five horsemen, and fifteen foot sol-  
 diers prisoners. The gallant corporal was, for this  
 exploit, the next day promoted to the rank of sergeant.

On the 1st of November a squadron consisting <sup>1810.</sup> of one troop of hussars and one of the sixteenth, <sup>November.</sup> were sent under captain von Linsingen to Obidos, <sup>Journal of</sup> which place had been garrisoned, and lay in rear <sup>colonel von</sup> of the enemy's position. This detachment sent pa- <sup>Linsingen,</sup> troles nearly up to the enemy's posts, harassing his <sup>MSS.</sup> foraging parties, and making many prisoners, without, however, being engaged in any serious affair.

Massena commenced his retreat from before the <sup>Napier.</sup> lines on the night of the 14th, but this movement was not discovered until the following morning; and lord Wellington, doubtful of his intentions, did not march in pursuit until the 16th, when it was ascertained that the French had retreated in two columns by Rio Mayor and Santarem. On this day the squadron of cavalry at Obidos rejoined the brigade, which advanced and followed the retreat of the column that was directed upon Santarem. The following day they marched by Al- <sup>Journal of</sup> coentre to Atalaya, through fields which had been <sup>colonel von</sup> devastated by the enemy, and an atmosphere reeking <sup>Linsingen,</sup> with the effluvia of the unburied bodies of men <sup>MSS.</sup> and animals. About one hundred and eighty prisoners were taken by the light cavalry brigade on this and the succeeding days.

Massena's main column halted at Santarem, and <sup>Napier.</sup> lord Wellington prepared on the 19th to attack what he conceived to be the rear-guard of a retreating army; but the French marshal had no intention of yet leaving the formidable position

1810. and fertile country which he now commanded,  
November. and lord Wellington, therefore, judged it prudent  
Napier. to remain on the defensive, and to keep Torres  
Vedras still occupied in force. The allied army  
was therefore disposed in such a manner as to  
prevent any sudden irruption of the enemy from  
Santarem, as well as to secure all routes to the  
lines between the Tagus and the Monte Junta.

## CHAPTER XX.

LEAVING Massena in his strong-hold at Santarem, <sup>1811.</sup>  
we will now turn towards Cadiz and the isle of Leon, <sup>January.</sup>  
in the vicinity of which two squadrons of the  
second hussars of the legion under major von dem  
Bussche, were, about this period, conspicuously  
engaged.

This detachment had arrived from England in  
the preceding May, as a re-inforcement to the  
small British force, which under general Graham  
formed part of the allied army in Cadiz and the  
Isla. These places had been for some time block-  
aded by a French army under marshal Soult, who,  
towards the end of the year, had completed a strong  
line of investment, and threatened the allies with  
an attack.

But just when the operations of the marshal had <sup>Napier.</sup>  
become formidable, he was called off by Napoleon  
to the assistance of Massena in the north, and  
Victor assumed the command of the investing force.  
General Graham, being made aware of this circum-  
stance, and of the removal of a corps of the French  
army from Seville, thought the opportunity favour-  
able to an operation against the investing army,

1811. and he undertook, in concert with the Spaniards, to  
January. drive Victor from his lines.

Napier. It was accordingly arranged that a corps embarking at Cadiz should land at Tarifa, and march upon the rear of the enemy's camp at Chiclana, that a bridge was to be thrown over the Santi Petri, which separates the Isla from the main, and that the Spanish irregular troops and those of Ballasteros should assist these operations, by threatening Seville and the French under Sebastiani in the province of Granada.

Narrative  
of general  
von dem  
Bussche,  
MSS.

The embarkation of the troops at Cadiz was commenced on the night of the 17th, but there was so heavy a sea, and such bad accommodation had been provided for the horses by the Spanish authorities, that the shipment of the hussars was not completed until the 19th, and few horses were got on board uninjured. Contrary and violent winds prevented the fleet leaving Cadiz until the evening of the 21st, when they sailed, and about noon the next day made Tarifa; but here it was found impossible to disembark; for the wind and current setting in the same direction, caused the vessels to drag their anchors, and carried them into the straits. The idea of landing at Tarifa was, therefore, given up, and they made sail for Algesiras, reaching which on the 23d, the troops landed and arrived the next day at the port for which they had been originally destined.



The corps was here joined by some reinforcements, which made the infantry and artillery under general Graham about four thousand one hundred men and ten guns. With the exception of two companies of Portuguese, the whole of these were choice British troops; but the cavalry consisted of the German squadrons only, and did not exceed one hundred and seventy horses.

1811.

January.

Narrative  
of general  
von dem  
Bussche,  
MSS.

About five hundred Spanish cavalry and six thousand infantry arrived on the 28th, under don Manuel la Peña. This officer had been appointed captain general of Andalusia, and commander of the troops in the isle of Leon, by the Cortes, and general Graham consented to act under his orders during the ensuing operations.

Napier.

The German hussars and the Spanish cavalry were now formed into a brigade and placed under brigadier-general Whittingham, an Englishman who had raised a Spanish regiment for that service. The vanguard and centre were composed of Spaniards under Lardizabal and the prince of Anglona, and the British formed, with two Spanish regiments, the reserve under general Graham. The whole having been reviewed on the 29th, moved off in the evening of the 1st of March, on the road to Medina Sidonia.

Narrative  
of general  
von dem  
Bussche,  
MSS.

Towards morning the advanced guard came upon the enemy's fortified post of Casa-Viejas, from which a few cannon-shots were fired; but the cavalry surrounding the place, the garrison fled,

1811. leaving behind two guns and some provisions. A detachment of the hussars under lieutenant Cleve followed in pursuit, and the greater part of the fugitives were cut down. Major Bussche's squadrons were now pushed forward towards Medina; but general la Peña, hearing that that place was entrenched, decided upon moving by the sea-coast, and the hussars were ordered back to the Casa, where they bivouacked for the night, having been thirty-four hours on duty.

Napier. This day la Peña was joined by considerable reinforcements of infantry and irregular cavalry, increasing his force to eight hundred horse, twelve thousand infantry, and twenty-four guns.

Narrative of general von dem Bussche, MSS. On the 3d the corps moved upon Vejer, but owing to the ignorance or inattention of an aide-de-camp of general la Peña, the troops were led six miles out of their road. The delay thus occasioned was still further increased by the difficult passage of a stream which the corps reached about four o'clock in the afternoon. The water was rather deep, and a narrow dam which led across was the only means that offered for crossing it. But the dam was both in bad condition and flooded, and when the Spaniards came to the edge, they hesitated, their generals in particular exhibiting much uneasiness at the prospect of such a line of march. General Graham now came up, and seeing the cause of delay, instantly sprang from his horse, dashed into the water, and scrambled over the dam

to the other side. A gun was then got across, and the Spaniards became satisfied that the passage was practicable. Much delay, however, was occasioned by the impediment, and it was midnight before the troops reached Vejer.

1811.

March.

Narrative  
of general  
von dem  
Bussche,  
MSS.

At five o'clock the following afternoon they were again in march, the German hussars in advance. The route was continued towards the coast, and led through the town of Conil, soon after passing which, the van-guard came upon a French cavalry piquet. Some skirmishing ensued, and a few men fell on both sides; but the corps moved on, and early on the morning of the fifth reached the heights of Barosa.

This ridge is situated about a league from the sea-coast, six miles from Chiclana, and four from the mouth of the Santi Petri. A wide plain, bounded, at the distance of about four miles and a half, by the forest of Chiclana, extends itself on the right; broken ground, covered for the most part with cork-trees, lies in front; a low ridge running for about two miles further in the direction of the coast, unites this with another chain called the heights of Bermeja, and these hills interrupted by the Almanza creek extend to Chiclana and the San Pedro river.

The troops having been much harassed by the fatiguing marches which they had made, came up in a straggling manner, and although la Peña had promised general Graham not to approach the

Napier.

1811. enemy except in a concentrated mass, he sent off  
March. Lardizabal with the vanguard and some reinforcements  
Napier. before the rest had arrived, direct to the mouth of the Santi Petri. A bridge had been thrown over here by Zayas on the 2d, but he was afterwards forced back into the Isla, and Lardizabal lost three hundred men in re-establishing the communication.

La Peña now ordered the British division to the heights of Bermeja, and general Graham, after in vain expostulating with the Spaniard on this injudicious disposition of the troops, proceeded to comply with the command. The British general, however, concluded that the centre division of the army and the cavalry would at least be kept on the Barosa position, which offered so good a key to the movements of the allies, and leaving a few companies to guard the baggage, he entered the wood in front, with the rest of his troops. But scarce had the British marched off in this direction, when la Peña carried away the main body of his army for the same point, leaving four guns and five battalions to guard his baggage, and directed the cavalry to follow by the coast.

Meantime marshal Victor, with nine thousand men and fourteen pieces of cannon, concealed by the forest of Chiclana, keenly watched the movements of the allies, and general Whittingham had not yet withdrawn the cavalry when his columns came forth. Lieutenant von Gruben, who was reconnoitring in

this direction with a small party of the hussars, immediately sent a report of the enemy's approach to Major Bussche, and it was not long before the reconnoitering party became engaged. The report was forwarded to general Graham, and now two strong columns were seen in rapid march over the plain on the right. The one led by Victor in person, and preceded by two squadrons of cavalry, moved along the reverse of the Barosa position, and threatened the right flank of the allies, while the other, commanded by Laval, marched against the centre. Major Bussche, observing that the French cavalry made for the coast, and thus threatened both the rear and right of the allies, begged that general Whittingham would allow him to retain one of his squadrons to check this movement. The general, who had made every arrangement for a retreat, reluctantly acceded to this request, and major Bussche, mounting the heights with the hussars, led them in a direction parallel to the enemy's cavalry, which, after a short time halted; their infantry column continuing its march. As this approached, some of the Spanish guns opened a fire, and two of their battalions advanced and skirmished; but as soon as the enemy's balls came near, they dispersed, and left the German squadron alone to meet the enemy.

An orderly retreat was the most that major Bussche could hope to accomplish, and to secure

1811.

March.

Narrative  
of general  
von dem  
Bussche,  
MSS.

Napier.

Narrative  
of general  
von dem  
Bussche,  
MSS.

1811. this, he retired by alternate half-squadrons, charging the enemy's cavalry with one troop while the other retreated. The French dragoons invariably retired behind their infantry when the hussars charged; but the squadron then becoming exposed to a shower of musket-balls, suffered considerably, and several men and horses were wounded. Major Bussche was thus engaged, alternately charging and retreating for more than a quarter of an hour; meantime some of the Spanish battalions were got together again, and the squadron much exhausted retired behind them.

March.  
Narrative  
of general  
von dem  
Bussche,  
MSS.

Leaving this part of his detachment in charge of captain Werner von dem Bussche, the major now set off to look after his other squadron, which, with the exception of lieutenant von Gruben's party (still remaining in observation), he found behind the wood in front of the Barosa heights, in attendance upon general Whittingham. The British troops under Graham, who had rapidly counter-marched on receiving the report of the enemy's movements, had by this time arrived at the foot of the position, and were about to engage in a most unequal contest with the French divisions. Major Bussche begged, therefore, that he might be permitted to remove the squadron from a position where it could not possibly act, and endeavour to co-operate with general Graham. This was repeatedly but vainly urged: although three

Spanish squadrons were at general Whittingham's disposal, he kept this body of hussars, amounting to nearly one-half of the detachment, marching about in a place where they could be of no service, exposed to a heavy cannon fire, and without any apparent plan or meaning!

1811.

March.

Narrative  
of general  
von dem  
Bussche,  
MSS.

Thus were the two German squadrons circumstanced, when an aide-de-camp reached general Whittingham with an account of the total discomfiture of the French by the gallant English brigades, and the retreat of Victor ; and at length the general consented to be deprived of his escort, which was quickly hurried away by major Bussche in pursuit of the enemy. Meantime the first, and Gruben's party of the second squadron, had been taken off by colonel Ponsonby, who, leading them round the right flank of the allies, came upon the enemy's rear-guard of cavalry, just as it was about to charge the exhausted British battalions.

A loud shout from the English infantry saluted the Germans as they passed, and the squadron, led on by captain Werner von dem Bussche, charged the French dragoons, which much exceeded them in number, with such impetuosity, that breaking through the cavalry, they captured the commandant and two guns, and coming suddenly on the columns in rear, many of the enemy laid down their arms. The steadiness of a few companies, however, restored order, and the progress of the hussars was checked.

At this moment another shout from the British

1811. proclaimed the arrival of major von dem Bussche  
 March. and the rest of the Germans; but general Whitting-  
 ham had consented too late to their removal; for  
 Narrative of general von dem Bussche, MSS. the French cavalry had withdrawn, and their columns  
 entering the wood were covered by a strong rear-  
 guard of grenadiers and riflemen. The arrival of  
 this detachment of hussars ten minutes sooner,  
 would probably have led to the capture of the  
 greater part of the French infantry, and the  
 allies had cause to complain of the misapplication  
 of a force, which, timely employed, would have  
 crowned a victory which British bayonets had so  
 nobly won.

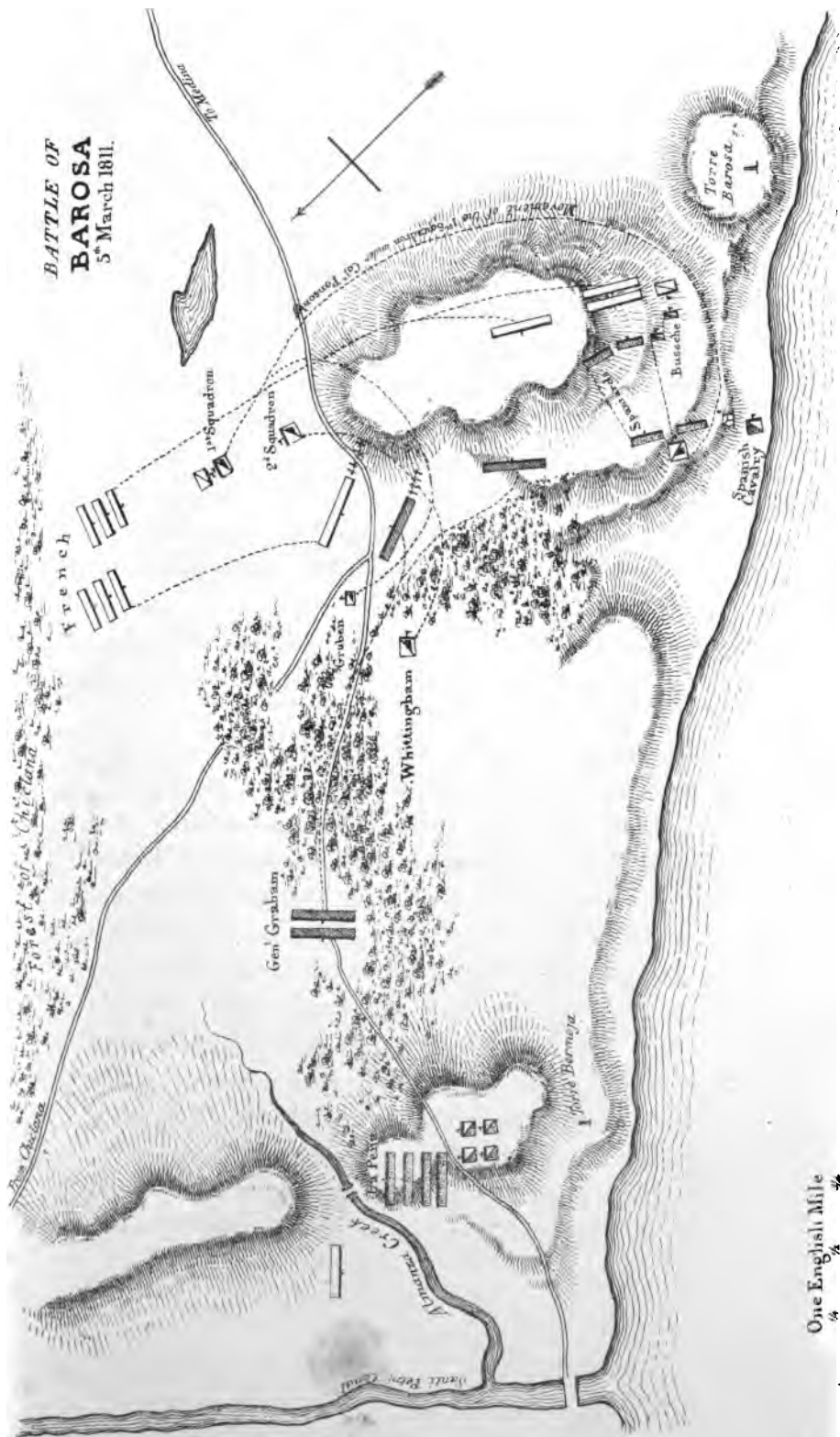
Napier. The French lost two generals, six guns, an eagle,  
 two thousand men, and four hundred prisoners, in  
 this short but sanguinary battle. The loss of the  
 British amounted to fifty officers, sixty serjeants,  
 and above eleven hundred men.

La Peña, with twelve thousand infantry and  
 eight hundred cavalry under his command, looked  
 idly on during the whole of the action, nor did  
 he even seek to profit by the result; general  
 Graham, therefore, after waiting some hours on  
 the heights, marched his troops into the Isla  
 on the following morning, and the Spanish general  
 continuing his inertness, Victor returned to his  
 lines on the 8th, when the former withdrew alto-  
 gether, and the blockade was renewed.

The hussars had to mourn the loss of captain von  
 Voss, a brave officer, who much distinguished him-



# BATTLE OF BAROSA 5<sup>th</sup> March 1811.



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N. L. Is del. L. Habert-L. Engr.



self in the principal charge against the French cavalry. Lieutenant von Bock, thirty-one men, and forty horses were wounded, and one man and six horses were killed.

1811.

---

March.

## CHAPTER XXI.

1810. CONSTANT rains in the north of Portugal during  
 November. the winter months had prevented any operation of  
 importance from being commenced by either commander after Massena's removal to Santarem, and the main bodies of both armies remained tranquil. The cavalry at the outposts, however, were kept in activity.

Journal of  
 colonel von  
 Linsingen,  
 MSS. At seven o'clock in the morning of the 22d of  
 November, the first hussars of the legion were  
 attacked in force, and driven behind the bridge of  
 Celariçe. The skirmishing lasted the entire day,  
 and lieutenant Ernest Poten, who had been sent  
 with a strong patrol early in the morning towards  
 Tremeo, was nearly being cut off; this party, how-  
 ever, although closely followed by the enemy, was  
 so admirably covered by its little rear-guard of ten  
 men, under sergeant Bergmann, that lieutenant  
 Poten was enabled to bring off his detachment with  
 the loss of only one man and horse. The gallant  
 sergeant, in securing the passage of a river for  
 the main body, had his horse shot under him,  
 but sword-in-hand on foot he rallied his men, then  
 about to give way, and keeping back the enemy,  
 enabled lieutenant Poten to cross the stream in  
 safety.

Guelphic  
 archives,  
 MSS.

The hussars suffered much during this period of 1810. outpost duty, from the continued inclemency of the weather, and the want of almost every necessary that could contribute to preserve the condition of their horses, and being obliged to go into cantonments, encreasing vigilance was indispensable. Little affairs with the enemy's outposts were of daily occurrence, in which they frequently made prisoners with trifling losses, and towards the latter part of the year, they suffered much more from sickness than from the attacks of the enemy.

Journal  
of colonel  
von Lin-  
singen,  
MSS.

Some reinforcements reached the British army about the middle of January, and the French general apprehended that it was about to be concentrated at Alcoentre. This induced marshal Junot to drive in the outposts at Rio Mayor on the 19th of January, in order to ascertain the fact. On this day he advanced with a considerable force of cavalry and infantry, and driving the third squadron of the Germans out of Rio Mayor, occupied the place. The marshal, in his eagerness to gain information, came forward with the skirmishers, and was unfortunate enough to receive a wound in his face, from the carbine of a hussar named Dröge, which disabled him for a considerable time. The following day the enemy retired, and the hussars occupied their old quarters. For the rest of January and the whole of February, nothing more important occurred than occasional rencontres with the enemy's foraging parties and piquets, in which the allied

Napier.

Guelphic  
Archives,  
MSS.

1811. cavalry had almost uniformly the advantage.\* Some  
 January. of these little affairs exhibited strong instances of  
 Guelphic enterprize and intrepidity on the part of the German  
 Archives, hussars. A serjeant named Westermann, patrolling  
 MSS. with four men towards Alcobaca on the 23d of  
 February, was daring enough to attack a piquet of  
 twenty-four chasseurs commanded by an officer, and  
 cutting several of the enemy down, he brought off  
 seven men and eight horses prisoners. Cornet von  
 Strenuwitz of the hussars, also, made some suc-  
 cessful attempts to surprise the enemy's outposts.  
 Despatch On the night of the 9th of February, a party of  
 of lieute- about nine or ten men under the command of this  
 nant colo- officer, cut down the greater part of a cavalry  
 nel von piquet which he had surprised in front of Alcan-  
 Arents- hede, about eight or ten of an infantry support  
 child. which was formed in the rear, and caused a re-  
 serve of infantry, said to be fifty in number, to  
 take to their heels. One officer and eleven men  
 and horses became his prisoners without any loss to  
 the hussars. On the night of the 20th the same

\* The French were not the only assailants at this period. A hussar piquet was one night led to turn out by the repeated firing of one of the videttes, who soon came galloping in, with a countenance expressive of the greatest alarm and anxiety. But his foe had been a wolf! The animal had, he stated, made several springs at him and his horse, and he was induced to fire in self-preservation; but neither pistol nor carbine could divert the ravenous animal from its prey, and he had ridden off at full speed, as the only means of safety. The officer who commanded the piquet, doubting the truth of this story, went to the point at which the man had been posted; and here the tracks of the assailant, as well as the marks of the bullets, verified the statement of the hussar.

officer dexterously led the enemy's piquet, consisting of an officer and twenty chasseurs, and the same number of infantry, into an ambuscade, formed of thirty of the sixteenth light dragoons and hussars, near Ferragoas. These fell upon the enemy, and the whole of their infantry with the officer were taken or cut down. Several of the chasseurs were likewise cut down, and three were taken; but the rest escaped. The officer, who was also wounded, proved to be an aide-de-camp of general Clausel, and had been for several days, with parties in ambuscade, lying in wait for the British patrols; the fortune of war now brought him in with seventeen of his party, a prisoner.

1811.  
February.

Despatch  
of sir W.  
Erskine.

At length Massena, the condition of his army no longer enabling him to continue at Santarem, decided upon a retreat, and falling back by Torres Novas and Thomar on the night of the 5th of March, he made for a position in front of Pombal.

Napier.

At day-light on the 6th, lord Wellington proceeded to follow the enemy. General William Stewart crossed the Tagus at Abrantes with the greater part of marshal Beresford's corps, while the first, fourth, and sixth divisions and two brigades of cavalry were directed on Thomar, to which place general Stewart marched on the 7th; but Massena taking the direction of the Mondego, the troops at Thomar were ordered to halt, and the light division, hussars, and royal dragoons to follow the eighth corps. While these were in pursuit, the

1811. third and fifth divisions moved from the lines upon  
 March. Leiria, and the second and fourth divisions and some  
 Napier. cavalry were directed to return from Thomar to the  
 left bank of the Tagus to relieve Badajos.

Narrative  
 of major  
 von Müll-  
 ler, MSS. But Massena, instead of continuing his retreat,  
 concentrated the sixth and eighth corps and Mont-  
 brun's cavalry in front of Pombal, where the ad-  
 vanced squadron of hussars under captain von  
 Müller, with whom were lieutenants Krauchenberg  
 and Bergmann, charged a strong column of the  
 enemy's cavalry with great success, defeating  
 several efforts which they made to deploy at the en-  
 trance of a defile, by driving the leading squadron  
 back upon the column. A party of the sixteenth  
 came afterwards to the support of the hussars,  
 and the enemy retired, but continued skirmishing  
 until nearly evening. The enemy lost one officer  
 and eleven men and horses in prisoners. The  
 hussars had three horses killed, and one sergeant,  
 five men, and five horses wounded.

Napier. Lord Wellington, finding that Massena was dis-  
 posed to make a stand here, countermanded the  
 march of the fourth division and the heavy cavalry  
 to the Alemtejo, but he could not concentrate a  
 sufficient number of troops at Pombal before the  
 11th. Massena had, however, retired during the  
 night, but was so closely followed by the light  
 division, that his rear-guard under Ney was obliged  
 to be drawn up on a height behind the town to  
 check the pursuit, and a detachment was placed



in the castle. Massena's line of retreat was now in danger of being cut off; but darkness came to his assistance, and the operation terminated with a sharp skirmish at Pombal, from whence the French were ultimately driven with some loss. The marshal continued his retreat in the night, and on the morning of the 12th his rear-guard was found most skilfully disposed at Redinha. Here a combat ensued in which the British had twelve officers and two hundred men killed and wounded, and the enemy as many; and some masterly movements and dispositions were made by both leaders; but Ney eventually fell back upon the main body, then at Condeixa, ten miles in the rear.

The pursuit was renewed on the 13th, and Massena, led by the judicious dispositions of general Trant to relinquish his original design of retiring on Coimbra, changed his line of march to that of the Puente de Murcella, to secure which, he sent a division to a village five miles on his left. This was turned by the third division, and the enemy evacuated Condeixa and hurried to Casal Nova. From hence they retired in the night, and on the morning of the 14th took up a strong position, occupying the heights above the Deuca river and the defiles of Miranda de Corvo. Here an engagement ensued in which the light division, having been much exposed, suffered considerably. Massena passed the Ceira that night, and was obliged to destroy a

1811.

March.

Napier.

1811. quantity of ammunition and baggage to lighten his  
March. march.

Napier. The allies reached the Ceira in the evening of the 15th, and found that Ney had taken up a strong position there, having his left upon the village of Fons d'Aronce. Against this lord Wellington sent the third division, which surprised and overthrew the enemy in the first charge, causing them to fly in disorder towards the river, where many were drowned and others crushed to death on the bridge, and Ney was forced to abandon his position with considerable loss.

Massena retired in the night behind the Alva, leaving a rear-guard on the Ceira under Ney. The following day the allies halted, much exhausted from the want of provisions and the great privations which they had suffered.

On the 17th, Ney, having withdrawn his rear-guard the preceding evening, the allies passed the Ceira ; but the enemy were again in position behind the Alva and on the Sierra de Moita, where Massena intended to halt for several days. Lord Wellington's admirable dispositions, however, obliged him to re-commence his retreat. The pursuit was renewed on the 20th through Penhancos with the light division and the cavalry, and the communication opened with Wilson, Trant, and Silveira. Captain Aly's squadron of the German hussars, which formed the advanced guard, on this day made,

under the protection of a fog, a most extensive capture, consisting of one captain, three subalterns, and five hundred and twenty infantry, twelve hundred sheep, twelve bullocks, and ten horses. The loss of the squadron was only one corporal, one hussar and horse killed, and three horses wounded.

1811.

March.

Journal of  
colonel von  
Linsingen,  
MSS.

The third and sixth divisions of the army followed the advanced corps in reserve, but the remainder halted at Moita for provisions which were to come from Lisbon. The French reached Celerico on the 21st with two corps and the cavalry, and Regnier occupied Guarda with the second corps, while at the same time their communication was opened with Almeida as well as Celerico by detachments of cavalry on the Pinhel. These were, however, soon after abandoned by the enemy, whose sixth corps then took up a position at Guarda, the second going to Belmonte, and the eighth corps and cavalry to the eastern valleys of the Estrella.

Napier.

On the 28th the British troops came up from Moita, as also reinforcements which had arrived from England, and these were formed into a seventh division. Early on the following day the allies moved upon Guarda, and a battle was expected; but the appearance of the columns threw the French into confusion, and they abandoned a nearly impregnable position without firing a shot. Upwards of a hundred prisoners were captured by the cavalry, to which were added, on the following

Journal of  
colonel von  
Linsingen,  
MSS.

1811. day, three hundred more of Regnier's corps, which

April. had quitted Belmonte in the night.

Napier. On the 1st of April the allied army reached the Coa, on the right bank of which the French general was in position. Here, on the 3d, was fought the sanguinary battle of Sabugal, where, in less than an hour, the British had nearly two, the French more than fifteen, hundred killed and wounded! and Regnier, overthrown, was obliged to retreat.

Journal of  
colonel von  
Linsingen,  
MSS. The first division having been this day held in reserve, the infantry of the legion were not engaged; but the hussars were active in the pursuit, and captured, principally under captain Aly, four officers, ninety men and horses, and twenty-five mules, besides the entire baggage of marshal Soult, losing only two men and three horses in killed, wounded, and missing.

## CHAPTER XXII.

MASSENA was soon in full retreat for Ciudad <sup>1811.</sup>  
 Rodrigo. On the 5th he passed the frontier of <sup>April.</sup>  
 Portugal, and fell back with coolness and good order <sup>Napier.</sup>  
 across the Turones; but the British light cavalry and  
 artillery pressed close upon his rear; and when  
 he finally escaped over the Agueda at Barba del  
 Puerco, his loss amounted to three hundred men  
 killed, wounded, and prisoners. Here his army  
 became augmented, but he was yet unequal to shew  
 a front to the allies, and he fell back on Salamanca.  
 Lord Wellington then invested Almeida, establishing  
 his head-quarters at Villa Formosa: the light divi-  
 sion occupied Gallegos and Espeja, and the rest of  
 the army were disposed in villages along the Coa.

The German hussars now resumed their old duty on <sup>Journal of</sup>  
 the outposts, which were pushed forward towards the <sup>of colonel</sup>  
 Agueda and Ciudad Rodrigo. Upon the provision- <sup>von Lin-</sup>  
 ing of this fortress and that of Almeida, Massena <sup>singen,</sup>  
 was intent. One convoy had entered on the 13th, <sup>MSS.</sup>  
 and information having been received that another  
 was to enter on the 16th, general Spencer attempted  
 to intercept it; and, accordingly, before day-break  
 on that morning, he crossed the Agueda with eight  
 thousand men. The hussars were in advance, and

1811. when they reached St. Felices, about four miles from

April. Rodrigo, their commander heard that the convoy had  
*Journal of* already passed. Receiving no counter-order, however,  
*colonel von* he proceeded on his march, and came upon a detach-  
*Linsingen,*  
*MSS.*

ment of from three to four hundred infantry and twenty cavalry, which formed the enemy's rear-guard. These the hussars cut off from the main body, but could not come up in time to prevent them from securing a position behind an old wall, where they were inaccessible to cavalry. Hoping that a few guns might be sent forward to dislodge the enemy, Arentschild blockaded them in their stronghold for more than an hour. The British general, however, having heard of the escape of the convoy, did not proceed, and a strong body of the garrison coming to the relief of the rear-guard, the hussars retired with the loss of a few horses.

Napier. Towards the end of the month Massena, having been considerably reinforced, determined upon making an effort to relieve Almeida, and put his army in motion for that purpose. On the 27th, having made an ineffectual effort to seize the bridge of Mariaiva on the 23d, he reconnoitred the line of the light division from Espeja to that place; lord Wellington therefore concentrated the main body of his army behind the Dos Casas, and on the 2d. of May, the whole French army having been observed coming out of Ciudad Rodrigo, withdrew the light division upon Fuentes Onoro, and through that village across the river,

The English chief was now resolved to abide a battle, and disposed his troops between the Turones and the Dos Casas, the left being at fort Concepcion, the centre opposite Alameda, and the right at Fuentes Onoro.\* Upon a rising ground behind the latter place, the first and third divisions were posted, having five picked battalions in the village, and the blockade of Almeida was covered by the fifth division placed near fort Concepcion, and the sixth opposite Alameda.

Fuentes was attacked by the enemy on the afternoon of the 3d with a large force, which, though vigorously resisted, obliged the British battalions to abandon the streets; but reinforcements arriving from the main position, the French were forced back, and after a severe contest, in which two hundred and sixty British and somewhat more of the enemy fell, were driven across the river. The skirmishers of the legion under major Aly of the third line,

\* In the course of these movements, a circumstance occurred which deprived one of the legion battalions, for some days, of its colonel. The army were marching through a narrow defile, when lord Wellington wished to halt the head of the column; but the road was so crowded with troops that no staff officer could well get to the front, and colonel B., who was remarkable for his good word of command, volunteered his services to effect the desired object. With a powerful exertion of his lungs he accordingly proclaimed, "the army is to halt by lord Wellington's order," and instantly the column was motionless. But the unusual effort was followed by great exhaustion, and for the only time that he had ever been absent from the command of his regiment, which he had on all occasions most ably led during the whole peninsular war—the gallant officer was obliged to place himself for a few days on the sick report.

1811. were posted to the right of the village, and took  
May. an active part in the combat, losing twenty-five in  
Correspon- killed and wounded. The hussars were not engaged;  
dence of  
general  
Löw, MSS. but in retiring before the enemy's skirmishers into  
Journal of position, had a few of their number wounded, among  
colonel von whom was captain Krauchenberg.  
Linsingen,  
MSS.

Napier.

Massena arrived on the following day, and was joined by Bessieres with further reinforcements. He designed to turn the British right, to protect which lord Wellington extended that flank by placing Julian Sanchez at Nava d'Aver, supported by the seventh division under general Houston, at Poco Velha. In the morning the enemy renewed the action with an overpowering force of cavalry and infantry. The British light division and cavalry hastened to the support of general Houston, and although the left wing of his division was at first driven back, the light division restored the fight. The French cavalry then formed on the plain in front of Nava d'Aver, upon which Julian Sanchez retired across the Turones. The right of the seventh division was next turned, and the British and German cavalry were attacked. These, being little more than one-fifth the number of the enemy's horse, could but offer a partial check to the opposing squadrons, and ultimately withdrew behind the light division with considerable loss. The seventh division, being thus unprotected, was charged before the battalions could form squares, and captain Ramsay's battery of horse artillery was cut off; but



part of the division taking advantage of a stone wall, made the enemy recoil, and Ramsay gallantly extricated himself. But, meantime, the British right was turned, and it became necessary for lord Wellington to change his position. The right was therefore ordered to be thrown back upon Frenada across the Turones, to which place the seventh division was transferred; and notwithstanding the overpowering mass of Montbrun's cavalry, five thousand in number, supported by fifteen pieces of artillery, this dangerous and critical movement was accomplished with success.

On seeing the new position, the French commenced a heavy cannonade, which did great execution; but on being answered by twelve British guns, its violence abated, and the enemy's cavalry drew off. Fuentes now became the important point of attack, and here the riflemen of the legion together with a piquet of the corps under lieutenant-colonel von dem Bussche, were engaged, and suffered considerably. Both sides fought with great obstinacy and with alternate success until evening, when the lower part of the town was abandoned. The French, however, retired some distance from the stream, while the British maintained the chapel and crags above the town, and, therefore, fairly claimed the victory. The loss of the allies amounted to fifteen hundred men and officers, and that of the French was estimated at five thousand; this estimate is, however, considered to be an exaggerated calculation.

1811.

May.

Napier.

Correspondence of  
general  
Lew, MSS.

Napier.

1811. Of the German troops which were engaged in  
 May. this combat, major Meyer, captain von Gruben,  
 London and lieutenant Krauchenberg of the first hussars  
 Gazette. were wounded, the latter severely; two men and  
 five horses of the same regiment were killed,  
 and forty non-commissioned officers and hussars  
 and twenty horses were wounded.\*

Of the line brigades major Beck, captains Müller  
 and von der Decken, and ensign Bachellet were  
 wounded, the three last severely, three men were  
 killed, and fifty-four non-commissioned officers and  
 soldiers were wounded and missing, the latter of  
 whom were all wounded.

Napier. A fresh attack was expected by lord Wellington  
 on the following day, and part of the English  
 position was entrenched; but the enemy shewed no  
 intention of renewing the fight, and on the 10th  
 retired across the Agueda.

On this night, owing to negligence on the part  
 of some of the British commanders, Brennier brought  
 off the garrison of Almeida with little loss; and  
 joining Marmont, by whom Massena had been now

\* The Guelphic Archives record several instances of individual galantry which were exhibited in this action by the first hussars; among others, sergeant Christoph Meyer, whose deeds as corporal have been already noted, and hussars Ludolph Krauel and Frederick Meyer are particularly mentioned. The latter rescued his captain (Gruben) from the midst of the enemy, cutting down a French officer by whom Gruben had been wounded, and having in the mêlée lost his horse, he seized and continued the fight on that of his opponent. Sergeant Meyer with six hussars, charged an enemy's detachment of twenty horse commanded by an officer, and brought in seven of the party prisoners.

succeeded in command, the greater part of the French army was withdrawn to Salamanca. Lord Wellington now set out to visit the army in the Alemtejo, which, during his pursuit of Massena, had been engaged under marshal Beresford in the siege of Olivenza, and was now about to commence that of Badajos.

To this part of the allied army major Hartmann and the two batteries of German artillery, now under the command of captains Cleeves and Frederick Sympher, had remained attached, and it was afterwards reinforced by the two light battalions of the legion, which, having recovered from the effects of the Walcheren expedition, were again in the field under their former chief, Charles von Alten, now promoted to the rank of major-general.

This brigade joined the army of marshal Beresford on the 17th of April, a few days before which Olivenza had surrendered. The operations were now directed against Badajos, and lord Wellington, arriving at Elvas on the 21st, proceeded to reconnoitre the former place on the following day, escorted by the legion brigade and two squadrons of Portuguese cavalry.

On the march, general Alten learned that a working party, consisting of one hundred infantry and thirty horse, had been sent from Badajos early in the morning for the purpose of cutting timber for pallisades, in a wood which the brigade had just passed. The general immediately sent patrols into the wood to ascertain the fact, but no appear-

1811.

May.

Narrative  
of general  
Hartmann,  
MSS.

Journal of  
major Rau-  
tenberg,  
MSS.

1811. ance of the enemy presented itself; and lord  
 May. Wellington not considering the circumstance of  
 sufficient importance to delay his march, the escort  
 proceeded towards the fortress.

When arrived on the surrounding heights, the  
 German light infantry were extended by detached  
 divisions to cover the staff, and lord Wellington  
 proceeded to reconnoitre from the left bank of  
 the river attended by the cavalry.

Narrative  
 of colonel  
 Baring,  
 MSS.

With the exception of a few shots from the place,  
 for some time all was quiet; but suddenly two strong  
 columns, apparently from twelve to thirteen hundred  
 men, accompanied by cavalry and guns, issued from  
 the fortress under cover of its fire, and advanced  
 one towards the staff, the other against captain  
 Bösewiell's company of the second light battalion,  
 which had been detached to some buildings at a  
 little distance from the rest of the brigade; at the  
 same time the convoy from the wood, which, instead  
 of one hundred, proved to be four hundred strong, ap-  
 peared in his rear. Lieutenant-colonel Halkett, who  
 commanded the second battalion, immediately made  
 an effort to bring up some of the other divisions to  
 the assistance of the detached company, but it was  
 already overpowered, and the French convoy en-  
 tered Badajos, leaving lieutenant Grant and four men  
 killed, captain Bösewiell and seven men wounded, and  
 taking two officers,\* two non-commissioned officers,  
 and thirty-two men of the German brigade prisoners.

Journal of  
 major Ran-  
 tenberg,  
 MSS.

\* Surgeon Nieter and assistant-surgeon Müller of the second light  
 battalion.

Notwithstanding this encounter, lord Wellington <sup>1811.</sup>  
 effected his reconnoissance; and having expressed <sup>May.</sup>  
 his high satisfaction at the conduct of captain  
 Bösewiel's company, ordered the troops to return  
 to Olivenza, where the light brigade arrived at ten  
 o'clock, having been seventeen hours under arms.

Lord Wellington now returned to the northern  
 army, leaving the operations against Badajos to be  
 conducted by marshal Beresford. These were com-  
 menced on the 4th of May, when a corps under  
 general William Stewart invested the fortress on  
 the left bank of the Guadiana. General Alten's  
 brigade of the legion formed part of this corps, and  
 partook of its various duties until the night of the  
 12th, when marshal Beresford, having received  
 intimation of the approach of an army under Soult  
 to the relief of the place, judged it prudent to  
 hold every thing in readiness for an immediate  
 march. He, therefore, ordered the ordnance and  
 stores to be returned to Elvas, and transferred his  
 head-quarters to Valverde. Here he held a confe-  
 rence with the Spanish generals Blake and Castanos,  
 the result of which was a determination to assemble  
 the allied army at Albuera on the 15th, and offer  
 battle to the enemy.

General sir  
 Benjamin  
 d'Urban's  
 Report.

The position chosen was a range of gentle  
 heights running nearly parallel to the little rivers  
 of Albuera and Aroya, having the former in front.  
 On the right of this were placed the Spaniards  
 under Blake; in the centre the English, under  
 generals Stewart, Cole, and Lumley; on the left,

1811. the Portuguese, under general Hamilton, colonel  
May. Collins, and colonel Otway; and the village of  
 Albuera, situated in front of the centre, was occu-  
 pied by the light brigade of the legion under  
 major-general Charles von Alten.

The whole force of the allies amounted to about  
 twenty-seven thousand infantry, two thousand  
 cavalry, and thirty-eight guns, which were thus  
 brigaded :\*—

#### CAVALRY.

MAJOR-GENERAL THE HONOURABLE WILLIAM  
 LUMLEY.

Brigadier-general Long commanding British and Portuguese.

Four six-pounders, British horse artillery—Captain Lefebure.

1st British brigade .. colonel the hon. George de Grey.

1st Portuguese brigade. colonel Loftus Otway.

2d Portuguese brigade. brigadier-general Madden.

1st Spanish brigade.. brigadier-general Don Casimero Loy.

2d Spanish brigade .. brigadier-gen. count de Penne Ville Mur.

#### INFANTRY.

SECOND BRITISH DIVISION, HONOURABLE MAJOR-GENERAL  
 WILLIAM STEWART.

Six six-pounders, king's German artillery—Captain Cleeves.

1st brigade ..... lieutenant-colonel Colborne.

2d brigade ..... honourable lieutenant-colonel Abercrombie.

3d brigade ..... major-general Houghton.

Four nine-pounders royal British artillery—Captain Hawker.

\* This detail is taken conjointly from the Appendix attached to  
 sir Benjamin d'Urban's Report, and from general Hartmann's Nar-  
 rative.

**KING'S GERMAN LEGION.**

**335**

**FOURTH BRITISH DIVISION, HON. MAJOR-GENERAL COLE. 1811.**

**Six six-pounders, king's German artillery—captain F. Sympher. May.**  
**1st brigade, (Fuzileers,) lieutenant-colonel sir William Meyers.**  
**3d brigade, (Portuguese) colonel Harvey.**

**PORTUGUESE.**

**MAJOR-GENERAL HAMILTON.**

**Six nine-pounders—Captain Braun, king's German legion.**  
**1st brigade .....brigadier-general A. Campbell.**  
**2d brigade .....brigadier-general A. Luiz Fonseca.**  
**Six six-pounders—Captain Arreaga.**

**SPANIARDS.**

**LIEUTENANT-GENERAL DON JOACHIM BLAKE.**

**Captain-general Don Francisco Xavier Castanos.**  
**Six four-pounders—Colonel Don José de Miranda.**  
**1st division .....marechal de Campo Don José de Lardizabal.**  
**2d division .....lieut.-gen. Don Francisco de Ballasteros.**  
**3d division .....marechal de campo Don José de Zayas.**  
**4th division .....brigadier-general Don Carlos de Espana.**

**UNATTACHED.**

**Light infantry brigade, king's German legion, major-general**  
**Charles von Alten.**  
**1st light battalion....lieutenant-colonel Leonhardt.**  
**2d light battalion ....lieutenant-colonel Halkett.**  
**Two regiments Portuguese light infantry—Colonel Collins.**

**MAJOR GEORGE JULIUS HARTMANN, KING'S GERMAN LEGION,**

**Commanding the allied artillery.**

**MAJOR DICKSON, ROYAL BRITISH ARTILLERY,**  
**Commanding the Portuguese artillery.**

1811. The French were in every arm superior to the  
May. allies. Thy had twenty-six thousand veteran infantry, four thousand five hundred cavalry, and fifty-two guns, some of which were twelve-pounders.

Sir Benj.  
d'Urban's  
Report.

The British cavalry had been concentrated at Zafra and los Santos, and were directed to fall back gradually before the enemy by Santa Martha, upon Albuera; but they were driven in rapidly by the numerous opposing squadrons, and by three o'clock in the afternoon of the 15th, the whole of the opposite bank of the river was in possession of the enemy's horse.

Their infantry began to arrive the same evening, and encamped in a wood opposite the British right. On this flank marshal Soult resolved to make his principal attack, and early on the morning of the 16th formed the élite of his infantry, and a large proportion of his cavalry and artillery in the hollow of a tongue of land which lay between the Ferdia and Albuera streams; but, in order to divert the attention of the British general he at the same time directed the remainder of his troops upon the village and bridge of Albuera, threatening the allied left and centre.

Appendix,  
No. XIV.

These troops moved out of the wood between eight and nine o'clock in the morning, and general Alten's battalions were soon after engaged. Colonel Colborne's brigade of the second English division, with captain Cleeves's battery of German artillery,



were immediately sent down to his support; the Portuguese guns, under captain Braun, answered the enemy's cannonade, and a sharp contest ensued.

1811.

May.

But it was soon evident that the real attack was on the right; for two-thirds of the infantry, which were in motion for the bridge, suddenly counter-marched to the left, and hastened back to the rear of the main body, while part of the cavalry, crossing the Albuera, galloped up the left bank, and came round the right flank of the allies.

Sir Benj.  
d'Urban's  
Report.

Marshal Beresford, penetrating the enemy's design, directed general Blake to throw back his right, and the second division to move from the centre to his support, and bringing the Portuguese division and colonel Collins's brigade from the left, formed them in close columns upon the ground which the right of the second division had quitted.

The fourth division was at the same time placed obliquely in rear of the right, forming a reserve for that wing and the centre, and supporting the main body of British and Spanish cavalry which were moved to its front. Captain Sympher's battery of German artillery was posted with the fourth division, that of captain Cleeves accompanied the second division, and the English horse artillery remained with the cavalry.

Narrative  
of general  
Hartmann,  
MSS.

With the exception of the Spaniards, these several changes were well and promptly executed. But general Blake, impressed with an idea that the enemy's real attack was on the centre, delayed the

Sir Benj.  
d'Urban's  
Report.

1811. execution of the orders which he had received, and  
 May. marshal Beresford was himself obliged to move the  
 Spanish troops, who had been scarcely posted when  
 the enemy fell upon them. They made, however, a  
 gallant resistance, and the first brigade of the  
 Appendix. second British division, accompanied by four  
 No. XIV. guns of captain Cleeves's battery, soon arrived to  
 their support. Captain Cleeves now rapidly as-  
 cended the height with his light six-pounders, and  
 unlimbering within ninety yards of the enemy's  
 columns, opened a sharp fire upon the mass.  
 The brigade followed, led up in column by general  
 Napier. William Stewart, who attempted to form line as the  
 battalions arrived; but before the deployment could  
 be effected, a body of the enemy's lancers and  
 hussars, which, hidden by a thick mist and rain,  
 had gained the rear and right flank of the brigade,  
 and, when there, were mistaken for Spaniards, came  
 Lord wildly down upon the British regiments, and com-  
 Beresford's mitted dreadful slaughter among them. The alarmed  
 Despatch. soldiers flying in disorder through the intervals of  
 Appendix. captain Cleeves's battery, prevented his men from  
 No. XIV. limbering up the right division of guns before the  
 arrival of the horsemen, and the gunners were cut  
 down and speared by the hussars and lancers. By  
 the great exertions and personal exposure of the  
 non-commissioned officers and men of the two left  
 Guelphic guns, and more particularly owing to the bravery  
 archives, and presence of mind of sergeants Hebecker and  
 MSS. Bussmann, these were limbered up, and were in

movement to the rear, when the shaft horses of one gun fell wounded, and the leading driver of the other was shot from his horse. A corporal named Fincke now gallantly jumped from his own horse, and mounting that whose rider had been killed, galloped through the enemy's cavalry and brought off the gun.\* the rest as well as three English guns were obliged to be abandoned, and lieutenants Thiele and Blumenbach of the German battery were wounded.

1811.

May.

Appendix,  
No. XIV.

Meantime the British brigade had suffered tremendously, and the thirty-first regiment under major l'Estrange were alone enabled to keep their ground ; but the mist clearing off, general Lumley perceived the assailants, and sending four squadrons of the allied cavalry to the spot, the hussars and lancers were fallen upon with fury, and were nearly all destroyed.

Sir Benj.  
d'Urban's  
Report.

The third brigade of the second division, led on by marshal Beresford in person, and supported by a corps of Spaniards, now moved up, and the second brigade also gaining the contested ground, the action was renewed with increased vigour. The enemy, reinforced from his reserves, again marched in column against the height, and a deadly conflict of infantry ensued.

It was continued with desperate valour, until not one third of any of the British regiments that had

Napier.

\* Fincke's gallantry was afterwards rewarded by lord Wellington with the handsome present of a hundred Spanish dollars. (*Guelphic archives.*)

1811. ascended the height were left standing, and some of  
 May. their most gallant leaders had been killed or wounded.  
 The force of the second division became at length  
 Sir Benj. so diminished that the French were enabled to  
 d'Urban's Report. lodge one of their columns more in advance of  
 their left than they had hitherto done, and mar-  
 shal Beresford ordered some Spanish battalions to  
 charge this flank. But neither orders nor expostu-  
 Further lations could induce the Spaniards to advance, and  
 Strictures on Na- after in vain dragging a colonel to the front, and  
 pier's His- offering to lead them on himself, the marshal  
 tory of the Peninsu- despatched an officer for a brigade of general Ha-  
 lar War. milton's Portuguese. These not arriving after some  
 time had elapsed, he proceeded personally to en-  
 quire the cause of the delay, and finding that the  
 Portuguese division had been removed towards the  
 left of the line, sent forward colonel Collins's bri-  
 gade to make the desired attack. The marshal then  
 sent instructions to general Alten, whose light in-  
 fantry had continued successfully to oppose the  
 enemy's attempts to force the passage of the bridge,  
 to retire from thence, and take post with a view to  
 covering the Valverde road, or supporting the front,  
 as might be required. This position was pointed  
 out ; Captain Baring, the general's aide-de-camp,  
 Narrative of colonel Baring. MSS. was already engaged in the superintendence of the  
 movement, and the legion had actually been with-  
 General von Alten's Report. drawn from the village, when a countermand ar-  
 rived—for the French were observed flying before  
 the troops on the heights !

The fourth division, ordered forward at the suggestion of colonel Hardinge, had come to the assistance of the exhausted brigades on the contested ground. While the Portuguese battalions, aided by the British and German artillery, beat off the enemy's horse, the fuzileers appeared on their left, and the third brigade of the second division on their right. These in conjunction with the British troops which had been yet left standing, opposed a new front to the dense columns, and charging simultaneously, the masses broke; the captured guns, with the exception of one howitzer, were recovered, and the French fled precipitously from the field, followed by their victorious opponents.

The enemy's reserve still offered some resistance, and general Alten's brigade became again engaged; but the French finally retired across the stream to their original position in the wood, and during the night Soult commenced his retreat for Seville covered by his numerous cavalry.

In this battle, which lasted four hours, the allies lost nearly six thousand men, and the French more than ten thousand. Of the legion light brigade lieutenant Whitney and seven rank and file were killed, major Hartwig, captains Baring, Rudorff, and Arnold Heise, lieutenants Hartwig and Fahle, and ensign Schmalhausen were wounded, captain Heise mortally; and ninety-two non-commissioned officers and soldiers were wounded and missing. The German artillery lost thirty-four horses, two officers

1811.

May.

Further  
Strictures,  
&c.Sir Benj.  
d'Urban's  
Report.Further  
Strictures,  
&c.Appendix,  
No. XV.

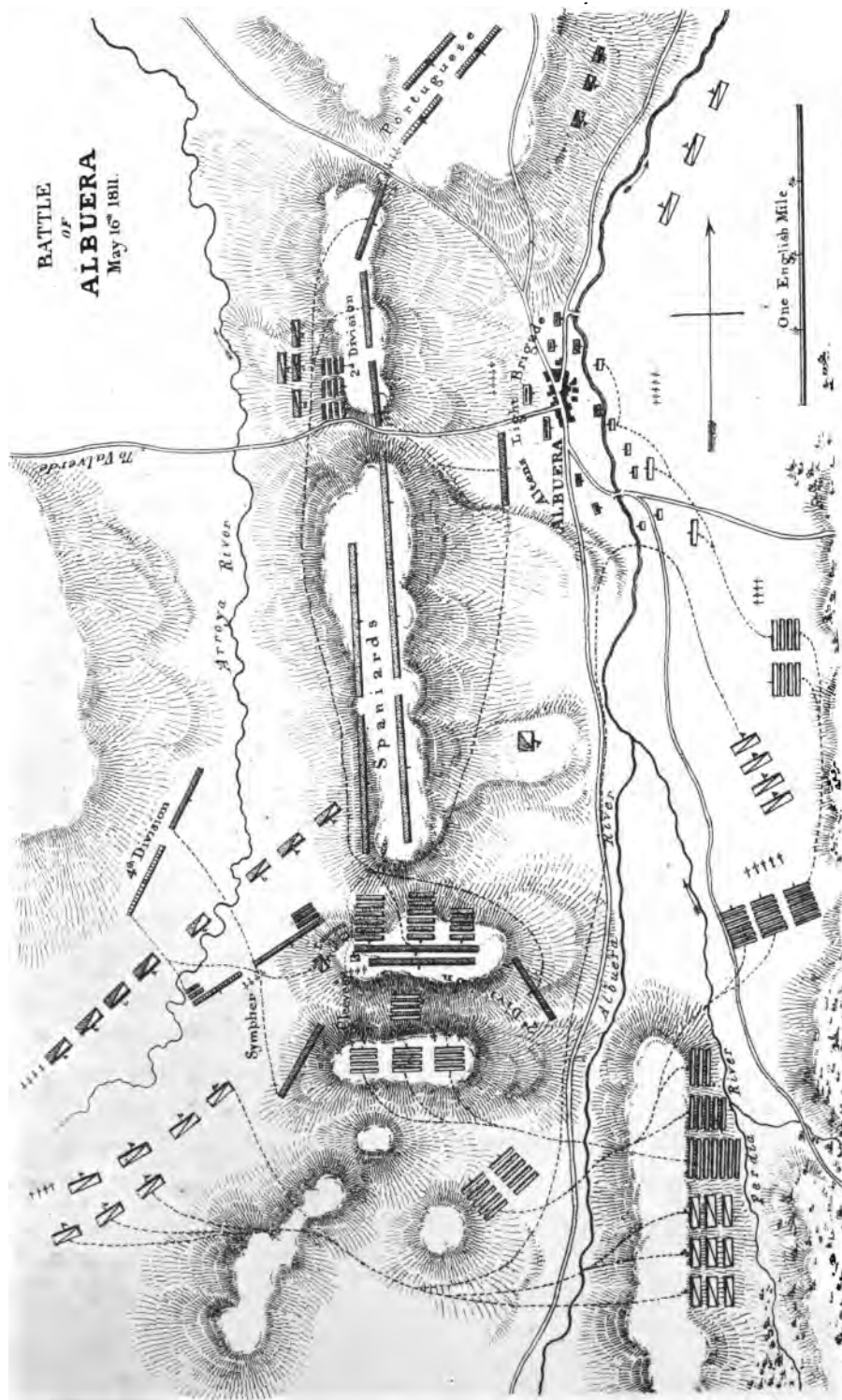
1811. were wounded, and forty-six non-commissioned  
May. officers and men of the two batteries were returned  
Appendix, wounded and missing : one howitzer also remained  
No. XV. in the enemy's possession.

Sir Benj.  
d'Urban's  
Report.

The allied cavalry and general von Alten's brigade followed the enemy's rear-guard on the 18th, and a part of his chasseurs with their lieutenant-colonel were taken by the Spanish horse under lieutenant-colonel Soto. Badajos was now re-invested, and lord Wellington, arriving at Elvas on the 19th, directed marshal Beresford to follow the enemy cautiously. The second and fourth divisions were, therefore, closed up to the German brigade, and on the 21st the whole moved upon Solana, the enemy's rear-guard being in Fuente del Maestre and Villa Franca.

On the 23d the French quitted these places, and retired upon Usagre, at the entrance of which town on the 25th, generals Lumley and Madden attacked their cavalry, and nearly destroyed two regiments. After this affair the enemy retired to Llerena, and the allied troops were placed in the cantonments which they had occupied previous to the advance of Soult. Marshal Beresford's presence being now required in Portugal, he was relieved from the command of the right corps by General Hill, and lord Wellington proceeded to conduct the siege of Badajos in person.

BATTLE  
OF  
**ALBUERA**  
May 16<sup>th</sup> 1811.



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## APPENDIX.



## APPENDIX.

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### No. I.

*Extracts from the Proclamations issued by the Hanoverian Ministry on the 16th and 24th of May, 1803.*

*(Translated from the German.)*

### A.

*From the Proclamation of the 16th of May.*

\* \* \* \* \*

In order to be prepared before hand for this unexpected occurrence, it is at the present moment indispensably necessary to ascertain exactly, and without delay, the number of our German subjects, who, should the necessity arise, would be able to bear arms in defence of their Fatherland.

Merely with this view, therefore, we require the magistracy of our faithful country, in conjunction with a member of our faithful representative body, (*Landschaften*) accurately and speedily, and as far as the necessary expedition renders it possible, to make out a complete list of those of our German subjects, who stand otherwise in allegiance to us and the Fatherland, and solemnly to engage the same, in case of necessity, *unhesitatingly to suffer themselves to be placed, for the protection and defence of the country, for so long a time as the necessity exists, and the defence of the country demands it, wherever they shall be required to effect this object.*

The tried loyalty and patriotism of our beloved subjects does not allow us to believe that any one of them will be found so forgetful of duty as to transgress this solemn engagement, and by a dishonourable flight from the land criminally to forsake its defence.

Should, however, notwithstanding these favourable expectations, such an event occur, the disgraceful subject who thus withdraws his assistance from his country, at the time of need, shall *infallibly, and without hope of pardon*, after a previous magisterial enquiry, be declared to have forfeited the entire property in our German state, which he may possess, or may expect to inherit. \* \* \* \* \*

*To the Magistracy at large, &c. &c. &c.*

## B.

*From the Proclamation of the 24th of May, 1803.*

\* \* \* \* \*

Among these entirely incorrect representations, we observe with regret, that one of the greatest is, that many subjects of the state imagine there exists a design to meet the impending invasion with a so-called *levée en masse*, (land-sturm.)

As, however, *this was never intended*, and the sole object of the lists was limited to the ascertaining the number of our subjects fit for service, in order, as has been already done, to be able to call out the same for the completion of the royal army in its required number of men, for the service of the country, *in the capacity of regular troops, for so long a period as the defence of the country from an impending danger, of which it is entirely guiltless, may render it necessary*—

You will, therefore, consider it an urgent duty in every possible manner, and most completely, to set the people right upon this point, and to impress them with a strong assurance that it is by no means the intention to call them out as a so-called *levée en*

*masse* (land-sturm) ; but *solely and only* as a necessary reinforcement for the regular army in case of danger to the country, consequently to employ them *in the capacity of regular troops*.

\* \* \* \* \*

*To the Magistracy at large, &c. &c. &c.*

## No. II.

*Opinion of the council of war assembled at Haidekrug.*

*(Translated from the German.)*

Under the presupposition that these conditions shall be observed, that, according to them, a new convention shall be concluded, and that no worse conditions be substituted in place of the above named, we the undersigned are agreed that his excellency the fieldmarshal count von Wallmoden Gimborn may conclude a convention for the troops with the French general.

*Haidekrug, 4th July, 1803.*

*(Signed)*

L. VON DIEFENBROICK, major-general.

R. VON HAMMERSTEIN, lieutenant-general.

L. H. A. VON SCHEITHER, lieutenant-general.

BR. LINSINGEN, lieutenant-general.

KUNTZE, major-general.

F. VON DRECHSEL, major-general.

J. VON HASSEL, major-general.

O. SCHULTE, major-general.

DU PLAT, major-general.

C. PR. VON SCHWARTZBURG, colonel.

## No. III.

*Proclamations, &c. issued by the executive commission at Hanover, prohibitory of recruiting for the English service.*

*(Translated from the German.)*

## A.

## PROCLAMATION.

It having come to the knowledge of the general-in-chief that in some parts of the country recruiting is carried on for the English service, the magistracy at large are not only warned of the danger to which they expose themselves by in any wise encouraging such recruiting, but the magistracy are required, by the express orders of the general-in-chief, for the preservation of the peace of the electorate, to give information of the hired English recruiting agents.

*Hanover, 6th October, 1803.*

*Signed by the commission.*

*To the Magistrates of the country at large.*

## B.

## PROCLAMATION.

By order of the general-in-chief, it is herewith made known to the inhabitants of the electorate at large, that every person who concerns himself about recruiting for the English service, or induces others to go over to that service, shall be delivered up to the French military tribunal, and punished according to the severity of the French military laws, agreeable to which, those persons who may be found guilty of the above-mentioned crime, are punishable with death.

All persons are therefore warned, and the magistracy are to

consider it their duty to publish every where the present ordinance, and make it universally known in the usual manner.

*Hanover, 10th October, 1803.*

*Signed by the executive commission.*

*To the Magistrates of the country at large.*

## C.

## NOTIFICATION TO THE CLERGY.

Our, &c.

As the unlimited, public, and most universal notification of the annexed ordinance of the 10th of October, relative to recruiting for the English service, is of the greatest importance to all and every inhabitant of the country, and is therefore to be read from all pulpits on the next three sundays after the receipt of this, a copy of this letter, together with the ordinance itself, is to be immediately communicated to every clergyman for his guidance, and the duplicate of the letter furnished with the *præsentatis* of the clergyman, to be returned here.

We are, &c,

(Signed.)

Consistorium of the Country.

*Hanover, 13th October, 1803.*

To

*All general and special superintendants standing under the consistorium of the country, as well as to all religious bodies, charitable establishments, and convents.*

## D.

## PROCLAMATION.

Herewith are annexed some copies of a sentence which has been pronounced by the military tribunal upon sergeant Ahrens,

relative to recruiting for the English service, and which, in order to deter others by the example, is to be as much as possible made generally known. It is therefore to be affixed to the amt-offices and posted on the doors of the churches.

*Hanover, 8th November, 1803.*

*Signed by the executive commission.*

*To the Magistracy of the country at large.*

N.B. The verdict referred to, sentences sergeant Ahrens, of the sixth Hanoverian electoral regiment of infantry, in consequence of traitorous recruiting, (*embauchage*,) to fifteen years in irons, (galley-slave punishment.)

(Signed) C. HEISE.

#### No. IV.

*Letter of service addressed to his royal highness the duke of Cambridge.*

*War Office, 19th December, 1803.*

SIR,

In pursuance of the king's commands, communicated to me by his royal highness the commander-in-chief, I have the honour to acquaint your royal highness that his majesty has directed the independent levies of baron Decken and major Halkett to be discontinued, and has been pleased to order that the men raised under the letters of service granted to those officers shall be formed into a legion to be composed of foreigners, not exceeding five thousand men, which his majesty is pleased to authorize to be raised by your royal highness, upon the conditions hereafter specified.

Article I.—Each recruit is to be enlisted for ten years if possible, but certainly for not less than seven years; and should Great



Britain be at war at the expiration of that term of service, the men are to continue to serve without additional bounty until six months after the ratification of a definitive treaty of peace. No man engaged for a less term of service will be passed at the depôt at Hilsea barracks.

II.—The recruits are not to be under five feet three inches, nor above forty years of age, and must, in every respect, be free from infirmity and fit for service. Young healthy lads who are likely to grow, may, however, be enlisted at five feet two inches high.

III.—No natives of France, Italy, or Spain are to be enlisted under any circumstances whatever; but your royal highness is at liberty to engage abroad, men of all other nations of Europe, and also Poles, Hungarians, Danes, Russians, and Germans residing in this country, but not any of his majesty's British subjects; and your royal highness is also at liberty to engage natives of Holland, taken on board prizes, provided they shall appear from their age and make to be fit for his majesty's service.

IV.—Fifteen guineas will be allowed to your royal highness for each recruit (those men brought from the Continent at the public expense, also those enlisted from on board prizes, and the lads excepted) who shall be delivered at Hilsea barracks, and there approved and accepted for his majesty's service, reserving, however, the sum of three pounds, seventeen shillings, and sixpence, being the like proportion of the bounty, both in money and in necessaries, that is allowed to a British recruit of the line on final approval; the same to be invariably accounted for to your royal highness's recruits at the depôt, under the order of the inspector-general. The man is also to be in possession of all the other articles of necessaries furnished to a recruit of the line on intermediate approval. The bounty paid to the recruit is not, however, in any case to exceed, in money or necessaries, the regulated sum of seven pounds, twelve shillings, and sixpence, now allowed to a British infantry recruit.

V.—For each man brought from the Continent at the public expense, the sum of twelve guineas will be allowed, and those

who shall be enlisted from on board prizes, and who shall be approved and accepted of as above stipulated, levy money at the rate of seven guineas will be allowed, and eight guineas for each lad of the description mentioned in article II. with the like reservation of bounty in each case as in article IV.

VI.—No charge whatever will be admitted for any expenses that may be incurred on account of the recruit previous to the man's approval at Hilsea barracks; nor is any expense to be incurred by the public on account of rejected recruits, or of such as may die or desert before approval. The rejected men brought from the Continent are to be subsisted and sent back at your royal highness's expense.

VII.—The pay of the approved recruits will be allowed from the respective dates of their approval at Hilsea barracks, and that of the officers from the date of their commissions.

VIII.—The officers and men will be required to take the oath of allegiance to his majesty, and will be liable to serve wherever his majesty shall think fit to employ them. Each recruit is to sign an engagement accordingly, and to be subject to the same regulations and articles of war as his majesty's British troops.

IX.—The men and lads shall, during the whole period of their term of service, enjoy all such advantages as are or may be granted or allowed to British soldiers wherever they may happen to serve, and shall be subject to all diminutions of pay and allowances which his majesty may think proper to order for the British troops.

X.—The whole of the officers shall be entitled on reduction to an allowance equivalent to British half-pay, provided the legion be kept in the British service for upwards of five years; but in the event of its being sooner reduced, this allowance will be granted to such officers only as shall hold permanent British rank. The rest of the officers will have allowances according to their respective ranks, at the rates specified in the table hereunto annexed, (A.)

XI.—When any of the men shall be discharged from the service on reduction or otherwise, they will, if brought from the

Continent, be sent back at the expense of the British government, and an allowance will be made to them in aid of travelling expenses to their respective homes, at the rate of twopence English, or about six *kreutzers* of the empire per league, the same to be calculated from the point of debarkation on the Continent.

XII.—The men who, from wounds or other infirmities, shall become incapable of serving during the period of the term for which they shall have been engaged, will receive from government an allowance for life, not exceeding the Chelsea out-pension, which will be paid to them accordingly if they reside in England, or shall have obtained permission to receive the same on the Continent, but not otherwise.

XIII.—In respect to the supply of clothing and appointments the legion will be on the same footing as British regiments of the line. The arms will be furnished from the public stores.

XIV.—In the first instance, the men already raised are to be immediately formed into two battalions of light infantry, each battalion to consist of the numbers specified in the annexed statement (B.), which battalions will be considered as placed in the establishment of the army from the 19th of December, 1803. The formation of the remainder of the legion will take place in proportion as the men are obtained.

XV.—His majesty, whenever he shall think fit, may discontinue the legion or any part thereof, on the establishment of the army, notwithstanding the period of seven years, or such longer term for which the men shall have been engaged to serve, should not have expired.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

With the most profound respect,

Your Royal Highness's

Most obedient and humble Servant,

(Signed)

C. BRAGGE.

*To lieutenant-general his royal highness  
the duke of Cambridge, K.G. &c. &c. &c.*

## HISTORY OF THE

## A.

## Allowances referred to in Article X.

	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>	
Colonel .....	7	6	per diem
Lieutenant-colonel and major .....	5	0	„
Captain and surgeon .....	3	0	„
Adjutant.....	2	6	„
Subaltern and assistant-surgeon.....	2	0	„

## B.

## Establishment referred to in Article XIV.

1 Lieutenant-colonel	1 Assistant-surgeon
1 Major	1 Sergeant-major
6 Captains	1 Quarter-master-sergeant
6 Lieutenants	1 Pay-master, do.
6 Ensigns	1 Armourer, do.
1 Adjutant	24 Sergeants
1 Quarter-master	24 Corporals
1 Pay-master	12 Buglers
1 Surgeon	450 Privates
Total.....539	

## No. V.

## DOCUMENT RELATING TO THE AFFRAY AT TULLAMORE.

*Extract from a letter addressed by general Floyd to his royal highness the duke of Cambridge, dated Royal Hospital. Dublin, July 28th, 1806.*

SIR,

I had the honour of informing your royal highness of an unfortunate affray that happened at Tullamore, and I extremely regret that it is not possible to give you by this post the detailed account.

I must request your royal highness will be pleased to accept of a very abridged, but, as far as it goes, a correct narrative which I gathered on the spot.

On Tuesday the 22d instant, five militia light companies

1st hussars, .... in Zealand, 29th of Aug. 1807.  
 3d do. ....  
 1st light battalion,  
 Artillery, ..... er, 1807.  
 3d line battalion,  
 4th do do, ....  
 6th do do, .... 1807.  
 7th do do, ....

} by sickness.

2d hussars .... puth roads, having been upset in a boat  
 nsport in a heavy sea.

2d line battalion, transport on the Kentish coast, 11th of

7th line battalion, n the Queen's channel in November 1807.

Staff ...  
*Officers of the finch on the coast of Holland, November*

1st line battalion,

In the above exp

pieces.
4
..
506
583
..
3
196

N.B. Of the w d's in London from £5 to £20 each,  
 according to the  
 [ To follow p. 35 ed)

LEWIS BENNE.

ing the expedition to the Baltic in the year 1807.

ISONERS OF WAR.								DESERTED.				WOUNDED.				MISSING.			
Lieutenants.	Ensigns.	Paymaster.	Surgeon.	Sergeants.	Drummers.	Rank and file.	Total.	In Swedish Pomerania.				In Zealand.				Dangerously.		Slightly.	
								Sergeants.	Drummers.	Rank and file.	Total.	Sergeants.	Drummers.	Rank and file.	Total.	Sergeants.	Drummers.	Rank and file.	Total.
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	2	..	..	1	1	..	..	1	1
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	7	7	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	2
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	7	7	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	4	5	5	5	5	..	..	5	5
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	10	10	..	..	8	6	1	..	12	13
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	7	7	..	..	10	10	..	..	6	6
3	1	1	1	11	7	199	220*	..	..	..	15	15	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	5	7	7	..	..	..	..	..	..
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	16	16	..	..	..	..	..	..	5	5
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	8	9	17	17	..	1	1	4	4
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	22	9	9	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	4	2	14	16	..	..	..	..	4	4
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	6	7	30	30	..	..	..	1	1
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	22	24	..	..	..	..	..	4	4
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	38	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
3	1	1	1	11	7	199	226	1	3	82	86	4	1	194	197	..	..	44	46
226								323				71				4			

\* Driven on the Coast of Holland in the Augustus Caesar transport, November 1, 1807.

(Signed) LEWIS BENNE.

Hanover, December 22d, 1830.

marched into Tullamore on their way to join their regiments. About seven in the afternoon, as the troops were collecting for roll-call, a boy upon the bridge desired a militia man to beware of the Germans, applying the coarsest epithets to them. A German soldier was then passing, and a militia man knocked him down. Three other Germans accidentally passing unarmed came up to see what was the matter, and were knocked down with a stick. A patrol from the main guard of the first German light infantry came up and seized a militia man who seemed to be a principal rioter. As they carried him off, about twenty militia followed, supposed with intent to rescue. Captain Düring being just then parading his company for roll-call, moved down with it to cover the patrol, and the militia men retreated—faced about—threw stones and then fired, by which five men of captain Düring's company were wounded. Major-general baron Linsingen, hearing a riot, ran out among the militia, entreating them, in the best English of which he was master, to desist; at the same time he ordered a detachment of cavalry to clear the streets of all rioters, which they did effectually, and all was quiet in about a full half-hour from beginning to end. The Germans had no ammunition, but it is said they used some cartridges which they found on the prisoners.

Of his majesty's German legion three officers were wounded, lieutenants Peters, &c. \* \* \* \* \*

I spoke to the chief magistrate of Tullamore, Mr. Morris, and to several respectable inhabitants, who all attribute blame to the militia, and were loud in their praises of his majesty's German legion quartered there, and of their exemplary and inoffensive conduct. I must confess I never saw a more orderly, well disposed, or more soldier-like corps than that commanded by colonel baron Alten. \* \* \* \* \*

(Signed)

J. FLOYD,  
Lieutenant-General.





C.

*The EFFECTIVE FORCE under the command of major-general Frederick baron Drechsel, colonel-commandant seventh line battalion, King's German Legion, in the isle of Rügen and at Stralsund, on the 10th of August, 1807, was as follows:—*

	OFFICERS.		Troop quar- termasters, staff, and other ser- geants.	Trumpeters and Drummers.	Rank and file.	Horses.
	Commis- sioned.	Staff.				
ARTILLERY. 1st battery of horse artillery, 1st, 2d, and 4th batteries of foot artillery .....	324	81	382	142	7707	1813
CAVALRY. 2d and 3d hussars .....						
INFANTRY. 1st and 2d light, [of the latter five companies only,] and 3d, 4th, 5th, 6th, 7th, and 8th line battalions .....	7	..	..	..	..	..
This corps proceeded to the Isle of Zealand, and	28	6	21	7	641	508
was there joined by the 1st regiment of hussars and 1st	80	17	132	24	1802	1926
and 2d line battalions, making the whole force of the	347	56	429	155	7464	87
King's German legion on service with the British troops						
in the isle of Zealand, on the 1st of SEPTEMBER 1807...	462	79	582	186	9907	2521
Total .....						
Add the numbers absent on the 1st of September, 1807, viz.	2	..	..	..	..	..
staff in London.....						
2d battery of horse and 3d battery of foot artillery at	11	2	10	3	316	4
Porchester .....	25	6	42	8	597	638
1st regiment of dragoons at Tullamore in Ireland .....	25	5	44	8	604	610
2d do do on the march to Ireland .....	12	2	18	6	296	..
three companies of the 2d light battalion at Ramsgate ..	..	..	..	..	43	..
the unattached recruits at Porchester .....	18	3	..	..	..	..
and the officers of sundry regiments on leave of absence						
and sick in England and on the continent .....						
Total .....	93	18	114	25	1856	1252
Grand total of the king's German legion on the 1st of September 1807	555	97	696	211	11,763	3773
Hanover, Dec. 22, 1830.	(Signed)		13,322 men and 3773 horses.			
			LEWIS BENNE.			

## No. VII.

Documents relating to the capture of GENERAL LEFEBVRE  
DESNOUETTES.

TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN.

## A.

*Extract from the deposition of Johann Bergmann, late private in the fifth troop of the third hussars, king's German legion, made before the amt at Osterholtz, 8th March, 1830.*

Deponent was with the regiment in Spain, in the year 1808, and fought with it at Benavente.

In this affair he cut one French officer from his horse, and made another prisoner; the latter was said to be general Lefebvre.

If he does not err, three charges were this day made against the enemy; the two first were unsuccessful, but at the third charge the French cavalry were overthrown, and driven across the river which runs near Benavente.

It was at the second charge that he came up with the officer whom he cut from his horse. As this officer lay on the ground, he took his sabre and pouch from him.

At the third charge, or in reality the pursuit, he came upon the officer whom he made prisoner. He was one of the first in the pursuit, and as he came up with this officer, who rode close in rear of the enemy, the officer made a thrust at him with a long straight sword. After, however, he had parried the thrust, the officer called out "pardon." He did not trouble himself further about the man, but continued the pursuit; an English hussar, however, who had come up to the officer at the same time with him, led the officer back.

\* \* \* \* \*

When he maintains that he took general Lefebvre prisoner at the combat of Benavente, he must observe that he does not know this general, and only makes the assertion because it was said to him after the action that he ought to have held fast the man who thrust at him, for it was general Lefebvre. He was then young and did not trouble himself about the matter; he also never saw the man again; he only remembers that he that day wore a dark green frock, a hat with a feather, and a long straight sword.

## B.

*Deposition of Heinrich Kostermann, late private in the fifth troop of the third hussars, king's German legion, made at Noerten, 23d November, 1829.*

Deponent was present at the combat of Benavente, and saw hussar Johann Bergmann take an officer prisoner on the left of the bridge in front of Benavente. This officer was brought off by Bergmann and another hussar; who the other hussar was he does not know, nor to whom or to what place the prisoner was taken; nor can he say whether Bergmann took the officer's sword from him; he heard, however, that the officer was general Lefebvre.

## C.

*Deposition of farrier Schumburg, late of the third hussars, king's German legion, made at Allershausen, 23d November, 1829.*

Deponent was present at an attack near Benavente, in Spain, where a whole troop (*eine ganze schaar*) surrounded the French general Lefebvre; hussar Bergmann was, however, the man nearest to the general, and deponent saw that

Bergmann had got the general's sword, and taken him prisoner ;  
and that the English brigadier commander Stewart received the  
general. \* \* \* \* \*

## D.

*Extract from a letter of major-general August von dem  
Bussche, K.C.H. formerly captain in the third hussars, of  
the king's German legion, dated Stade, 8th November, 1829.*

Johann Bergmann, formerly a private in the third hussars of the  
king's German legion, no doubt took prisoner the general Lefebvre  
Desnouettes, in the combat in which that regiment was engaged  
on the 29th of December, 1808, with the French imperial guard,  
near Benavente, on the Esla.

This capture was the same day notorious in the regiment,  
and captain von Kerssenbruch, to whose troop Bergmann be-  
longed, enquired the particulars from him, and some of his com-  
rades ; and learned, "that during the individual encounters which  
took place, the general, being followed by Bergmann, fired a  
pistol at him, which failing in its aim, he offered him his sword,  
and made known his wish to be taken to general Stewart ; Berg-  
mann, however, did not know general Stewart personally, and  
while he was enquiring where that general was to be found, a  
hussar of the tenth English regiment joined him, and led away  
the prisoner."

No one in the third hussars has ever so much as doubted the  
circumstance, because Bergmann had shewn himself brave on  
all occasions, and is an extremely simple fellow, without any sort  
of boasting. \* \* \* \* \*  
\* \* \* \* \*

## E.

*Extract from a letter of captain George Meyer K.H. of the third Hanoverian hussars, and late of the third hussars, king's German legion, dated Hertzberg, 20th November, 1829.*

\* \* \* \* \*

Hussar Bergmann no doubt took prisoner a French officer of high rank, but gave him over to an English hussar to be delivered up, in order to return again to the fight. He was more brave than shrewd and circumspect; for notwithstanding his acknowledged gallantry and honesty, he was never promoted to be a non-commissioned officer. \* \* \* \* \*

## No. VIII.

CORRESPONDENCE RELATIVE TO THE MARCH OF GENERAL  
VON ALTEN'S BRIGADE FROM ASTORGA TO VIGO.

*(From the United Service Journal for 1831. Part III.)*

## A.

*Count Alten to the Editor of the U. S. Journal.*

MR. EDITOR,—I have but lately read in the second volume of colonel Napier's History of the War in the Peninsula, an assertion that "the British and German troops that marched to Vigo were conducted without judgement, and licentious." Having been honoured with the command of these troops, I feel myself called upon, both in justice to my own character, and to that of the late general Robert Craufurd, who commanded the British brigade of my division, to reply to these animadversions, and hope I shall not be considered unreasonable in requesting a place in your journal for the following statement of facts relative to the march of that corps.

On the 30th of December, 1808, Sir John Moore's army reached Astorga; the brigade then under my command, consisting of the first and second light battalions of the king's German legion, was quartered in the adjacent villages. On the 31st

of December, I received a letter from sir John Moore, written the same day, in Astorga, appointing me to the command of the two flank brigades, with which I was directed to make a separate movement upon Orense and Vigo. The first brigade consisted of the first battalions of the forty-third, fifty-second, and ninety-fifth regiments, under colonel Robert Craufurd, and the second brigade of the two light battalions of the king's German legion, the command of which now devolved upon lieutenant-colonel Colin Halkett.

On receiving this letter, I went into Astorga, and waited upon sir John Moore to receive his farther instructions. The general, after confiding to me the outlines of his own plan and intentions with regard to the main body of the army, which he at that time designed should embark at Vigo, informed me that the object of the separate movement which was to be entrusted to me, was, first, to secure the bridge over the Minho at Orense, which place, the enemy being actually nearer to it than the British army were, might be occupied by the French; and, secondly, after securing this point, to proceed to and occupy Vigo, where were assembled the whole fleet under sir Samuel Hood, on which the safety of the army depended. In his letter to me sir John Moore made use of the following identical words:—"I cannot give you any particular instructions, but intrust this arduous service to you, fully relying on your known zeal and judgment."

Conformable to sir John Moore's instructions and intentions, I endeavoured, by every possible exertion, to attain the objects which he had in view. On the 4th of January, I sent forward from Pueblo de Tribes a detachment of three hundred men, consisting of volunteers from both brigades, under the command of major Stuart of the ninety-fifth, which detachment, after forced marches through a most difficult and mountainous country, during inclement weather, occupied Orense on the 6th of January, and I reached that place myself, with the main body of the corps, on the following day.

Forced marches, under such peculiar circumstances, necessarily

involve the necessity of leaving behind the sick and stragglers, which, during the latter part of the march, amounted to a considerable number. An officer from each battalion was left behind, on the 3d, to take charge of these men and bring them up, and on reaching Orense, the main object having been secured, I determined to stop there on the 8th, and give the troops a day's rest.

On the morning of the 8th, I again sent forward major Stuart's detachment, with orders to proceed by forced marches to Vigo, and occupy the forts there. The main body followed under my immediate command on the 9th, and proceeding by easy marches, allowing each brigade another halt-day, I reached Vigo on the 12th of January. The first flank brigade was embarked on the same day, and the second brigade on the day following.\*

The procuring provisions during this march was attended with much difficulty. The country was poor and thinly inhabited, and the troops arriving late and setting off early, there was seldom time sufficient for baking; however, by sending forward the commissary of general Craufurd's brigade, attended by proper assistants, I succeeded in getting a tolerable supply of meat and wine.

It was at Orense that I received a letter from colonel Murray, the quarter-master-general, informing me, by command of sir John Moore, of the general's alteration in his plan and intention to embark at Corunna. I was at the same time directed to transmit immediately sir John Moore's orders to sir Samuel Hood for the requisite number of vessels to go round to Corunna. Agreeable to these directions I despatched my aide-de-camp,

\* Colonel Robert Craufurd, having the rank of brigadier-general, and being unacquainted with the instructions, which I had received from sir John Moore, considered himself called upon to remonstrate with me on the (as he conceived) unnecessary severity of the marches. After first assuring him that he was entirely exonerated from all responsibility to which he might consider himself liable as second in command, I communicated to him part of sir John Moore's instructions, and fully satisfied him of the propriety of the dispositions which I had made. We continued ever after on the most friendly and intimate terms.

captain Augustus Heise, by express to the admiral, and his timely arrival at Vigo enabled the fleet to clear the harbour and to reach Corunna in time to secure the embarkation of the rest of the army.

This was a critical moment; for the harbour of Vigo, beset with high isolated rocks (*estellas*) is most difficult of egress, and but few winds admit of a fleet getting out. On this occasion the ships had scarcely cleared the harbour when the wind changed, and, blowing strong into the bay, rendered it impossible for any vessel to get out. The bay being commanded by a battery of heavy guns, I took measures to render these unserviceable to the enemy, should they reach Vigo before the troops could sail; the forts in the meantime were occupied by a detachment of the German brigade under lieutenant-colonel Halkett.

On the 17th of January, major Martin of the first light battalion king's German legion, who had been left behind at Orense in charge of the sick and stragglers, arrived at Vigo with about six hundred men, which number, according to a fair calculation, may be considered about two-thirds of the whole that were left behind; of the remaining sick and stragglers several came up afterwards, and a good many rejoined their regiments in Portugal. The men of the legion battalions who ultimately never rejoined, were nearly to a man vagabonds of various nations, who had been enlisted in Danish Zealand in 1807, after the taking of Copenhagen. To the best of my belief no Hanoverian was among the number.

While we were wind-bound in Vigo, I was most opportunely joined by brigadier-general Peacock, who was on his way from Lisbon to sir John Moore with part of the military chest. This supply enabled me to issue a month's subsistence to the troops, and to furnish major Martin with money for the conveyance and subsistence of the sick and stragglers, the want of funds for whom had caused major Martin to suffer much ill-will and annoyance from the Spanish authorities and inhabitants.

On the 20th of January the fleet sailed, but contrary winds obliged it to put back, and it did not finally clear the harbour



until the 23d. On the 25th we arrived off cape Finisterre, where captain Hayes of the Alfred, seventy-four, who commanded the fleet, at first intended to await the further orders of sir Samuel Hood. Captain Hayes was, however, induced, by my taking the responsibility on myself, and giving him an order in writing to that effect, to sail direct for England, where the fleet arrived at the end of January 1809.

Such, sir, are the broad facts of the case, and by these I claim a right to be judged. In obedience to the instructions, and in accordance with the views of sir John Moore, I pressed forward to protect the flank of the main army and secure its intended line of retreat. To effect this, forced marches were indispensable, and the fatigue and suffering which such marches, undertaken under the circumstances that have been described, brought on the troops, necessarily caused many men to be left behind, and consequently occasioned disorder. To repair and prevent these irregularities, I employed all the means that were at my disposal, and had the satisfaction to find that they were as effectual as, under the circumstances, I could possibly expect. Bodies of stragglers, sir, however able the officers who command them may be, will not march with the regularity of close columns; and that instances of indiscipline and licentiousness will occur, is well known to every officer who has served on a retreat. But is the whole march of a corps to be therefore stigmatized as *injudicious and licentious*, and the conduct of the officers by whom it was directed thus held up to censure? Had the assertion which I have sought to refute proceeded from a less distinguished officer or less influential historian than the author of the History of the War in the Peninsula, I should not have thus intruded upon your pages a statement which can have little interest for the majority of your readers—I should have rested satisfied with the flattering testimonials which have been bestowed upon my services in the British army—with the esteem of my peninsular comrades—with the consolations of my own conscience; but when I see myself held up to censure by one whose authority is, in so many respects, entitled to weight, and liable to be handed down to posterity in a

point of view unwarranted by the facts, I feel myself called upon to lay before the public the true materials for coming to a right conclusion.

I have to apologize for the length to which this statement has run. More experienced in the use of the sword than that of the pen, I would gladly have avoided engrossing your pages with such a detail, for which I feel myself as unfitted as for any further discussion on the subject.

I have the honour to remain, Sir,

Your most obedient humble Servant,

CHARLES COUNT ALTEN,

General Hanoverian Service.

*Hanover, May 1831.*

P.S. The testimony of sir George Murray might, if necessary, be brought forward to corroborate those parts of the above statement which came under the cognizance of that general.

\* \* With reference to this postscript, it appears due to count Alten to quote the following extract from a note of sir George Murray to ourselves.—(Ed.)

“ As count Alten’s anxiety with respect to his professional character has been the cause of his addressing the accompanying letter to you, I think I should be guilty of a very blameable omission if I did not, in returning it, offer my humble testimony at least as to the high character deservedly earned by general Alten during a long course of valuable services, a great portion of which have come under my personal notice. As general Robert Craufurd’s name has likewise been mentioned, I should, were it necessary, offer a similar testimony with regard to the ability and the zeal of that officer.

“ As to the regiments which marched from Astorga to Vigo under the command of those two general officers, as well the three British as the two Hanoverian battalions, there are, I believe, no corps in any service which have been more remarked than they have both for gallantry and for discipline.”

## B.

*Reply of colonel Napier.*

MR. EDITOR,

It appears that I have given offence to count Charles Alten by that passage in the second volume of my history which describes the march of our troops from Astorga to Vigo in 1808-9 as licentious and ill-conducted. Hitherto, sir, the attacks that, from time to time, have been made upon my work have been neglected by me, not from any disinclination to meet my opponents, nor from any feeling of weakness, but simply because I have not had leisure; nor would I now have taken the trouble to answer count Alten's observations were it not that the thing is easy in itself, and that I owe him some respect as a brave soldier under whose command I served for a considerable time.

The count, after stating the words of a conversation held at Astorga with sir John Moore, proceeds to show in detail that the instructions he received from that general, namely, "to seize the bridge of Orense and reach Vigo before the enemy," were fulfilled to the letter. I do not dispute it. There was no enemy seen, felt, or heard of during the whole march, and, consequently, there was no difficulty in reaching the points required to be occupied. Were I, indeed, disposed to attack general Alten with any taint of malice, I might observe that the only occasion in which he used his discretionary power, his judgement was at fault. For certainly sir John Moore's intention was to assemble the whole army (after embarkation) in the bay of Vigo with a view to restore order; and there count Alten took the responsibility of making sail for England with that part of the army under his command, before he knew of the catastrophe at Corunna, which would have proved an error if sir John Moore had lived.

I come now to the real point at issue between us. General Alten's observations go to show that he obeyed his instructions, but my remark had only reference to the details of execution, and

not upon my own authority as an eye-witness. I have served many campaigns, yet I have never seen "a more licentious and ill-commanded" march, and I trust for confirmation of the assertion to the recollection of the officers who were present. General Alten acknowledges that one detachment of stragglers alone amounted to six hundred men. Now, Sir, the ships waited in Vigo bay, after the troops arrived there, at least ten days, and during the whole of that period stragglers were coming in by two's and three's, as the navy officers who were constantly engaged in bringing them off to the vessels can testify. In addition to this I find by the adjutant-general's returns that about five hundred men were left behind when the ships sailed. Here, then, we have at least one-third of the whole number of troops straggling during a march in which the face of an enemy was never seen, nor the want of provisions ever felt; the troops also sleeping under cover every night, and in good villages; for I must take leave, in opposition to the general's observations, to say that the country, although mountainous, was the reverse of sterile, and with the exception of the two first days' journey, not at all difficult for unincumbered infantry such as ours. General Alten, indeed, is obliged to confess that the stragglers committed excesses, but he excuses it on the score of the forced marches that his instructions obliged him to make. Forced marches is a vague term. I have seen the same troops afterwards make marches double the length of those without leaving a straggler behind, and without a fault, much less an excess being laid to their charge; and the reason they did so was that general Craufurd, (whose ability was never questioned by me, and therefore required no defence from general Alten,) struck by the excesses committed during the march to Vigo, had conceived, and organized, and enforced a system of divisional discipline which will remain a model for the imitation of all soldiers whatever may be their nation.

But to return to the forced marches. They were necessary to fulfil sir John Moore's instructions. Now, general Alten was the senior officer of the two brigades; his interference was certainly not perceived by the British part of the force under his command,

but he was, undoubtedly, the commanding officer, and in that capacity had direction of the whole march. Hence, if he thought the forced marches necessary, he should have interfered to prevent general Craufurd from halting nearly two or three times every day, for the purpose of punishing soldiers and thus delaying the march several hours, with a view to establish that discipline by terror which ought to have been established by arrangement. If, on the other side, general Alten thought fit to leave general Craufurd the entire management of his brigade, there seems no reason why he should take offence at an observation in my work where his name is not mentioned. In conclusion, I have only to repeat that, in my opinion, there never was "a worse conducted or more licentious march" than that to Vigo.

I have now only to notice sir George Murray's observations. It is difficult to discover exactly what they are meant for. If to give currency to count Alten's narrative their value is but small, seeing that sir George knows nothing of the march, except from hearsay. If they are to vouch for the accurate memory of general Alten with respect to the parting speech of sir John Moore, that has nothing to do with the matter at issue. If they are to vouch for the characters of the generals engaged, I am not aware that I ever impeached general Alten's zeal or general Craufurd's ability. But if they were meant, without committing sir George Murray to any specific fact, to give currency to an attack on my work, I can understand them.

Having now, Sir, stated as much as I think fitting upon this occasion, I have only to remark that, at a future period, I may possibly endeavour to shew my other opponents that their positions are not so strong as they, perhaps, imagine.

Meanwhile, Sir, I remain, with great respect for the impartiality with which you give publicity to the statements of all parties,

Your obedient servant,

W. NAPIER.

## C.

*Captain Christoph Heise to the Editor of the United Service Journal.*

MR. EDITOR,

Having read in the thirty-fourth number of the United Service Journal, count Alten's letter relative to the march of the corps under his command from Astorga to Vigo in 1808-9, as well as colonel Napier's reply to this letter in the thirty-fifth number, in which the latter makes use of the following passage:—

“ Were I, indeed, disposed to attack general Alten with any taint of malice, I might observe that on the only occasion in which he used his discretionary power, his judgement was at fault. For certainly sir John Moore's intention was to assemble the whole army (after embarkation) in the bay of Vigo with a view to restore order; and then count Alten took the responsibility of making sail for England with that part of the army under his command, *before he knew of the catastrophe at Corunna*, which would have proved an error if sir John Moore had lived.”

I beg leave to transmit to you, for insertion in your valuable and impartial journal, the annexed authenticated copy of the letter written by count Alten to captain Hayes of his majesty's ship Alfred, previous to the fleet with the troops under his command sailing for England.

Count Alten, in his letter published in your journal, has expressed his determination not to take up his pen a second time in this matter. However, I myself, having become possessed after the death of my late brother, lieutenant-colonel Augustus Heise, of the official letter-book kept by him in his capacity of aide-de-camp to count Alten during the march from Astorga to Vigo, consider it a duty I owe to truth, and to the character of general Alten, to lay this document before the public, leaving it with them to decide about a *fact* upon which the gallant colonel appears to have been so completely misinformed.

As I do not enjoy the advantage of having been an eye-witness to the military events which have in this instance called forth the

censure of the historian of the peninsular war, I must leave the rest of colonel Napier's reply to count Alten's statement of facts, to the judgement of every individual reader who will take the trouble of comparing both. Should I be permitted to venture a remark which has struck me during their perusal, it is this:

That many of the leading events as well as of the minor details connected with military operations are sure to come to the knowledge of the officer in command, and will guide his conduct accordingly, while they will most likely remain at the time a secret to the eye-witness in a subordinate situation; and therefore the latter's opinion may be influenced, or, perhaps, prejudiced to such a degree, as to make it difficult for him to alter it at a subsequent period, and, probably, not the less so should the eye-witness, unfortunately for the responsible superior, happen to be a party interested in upholding his own first impressions.

Having now, Sir, stated as much as I think fitting for me on this occasion, I trust that my reasons for doing so will not meet with any misinterpretation, and that I shall stand exonerated from any selfish motive for thus far trespassing with my humble observations on your pages and the patience of your readers, while I beg leave in conclusion to cite for myself, and to apply, as far as it is applicable to my own situation, the same plea which colonel Napier has brought forward as the main cause for publishing a reply to general Alten's letter, viz.:—

“ Were it not that the thing is easy in itself, and that I owe count Alten some\* respect as a brave officer under whose command I served for a considerable time, I would not take the trouble to answer,” &c. I have the honour to remain,

With the greatest respect, Sir,

Your obedient and humble Servant,

CHRISTOPH HEISE,

*Captain Royal Hanoverian Jäger Guards*

*H. P. late first light infantry batt. K. G. L.*

*Hanover, October, 1831.*

\* In my own case, I beg, however, to substitute in lieu of *some*, THE HIGHEST.—C. H.

*Letter referred to in the foregoing.*

*H. M. S. Alfred, off Corunna,  
January 26th, 1809.*

SIR,

In consequence of the notification we received yesterday from captain Seymour of his majesty's ship Pallas, about the disasters which befel the army under the command of lieutenant-general sir John Moore, and their sudden sailing to England which followed it, I beg to request that you will profit of the present fair wind to proceed there with the least possible delay with the corps under my command belonging to the same army, which expeditiousness I feel it my duty to represent to you as highly necessary on account of the symptoms of infectious fevers which have already appeared amongst the troops, owing to the great hardships and fatigues they were exposed to on the late retreat; besides that, the men being, from want of transports, very much crowded on board the ships, would make it, in my opinion, extremely dangerous for the health of the men to wait any longer for the despatches you expected to find from rear-admiral sir Samuel Hood, either off cape Finisterre or off Corunna, and not having received them at either place makes it most probable they are gone to Vigo.

I have the honour to be, &c. &c.

(Signed)

CH. ALTEN.

*To captain Hayes, H. M. S. Alfred.*

*Memorandum by captain A. Heise, aide-de-camp.*

At the time this letter was written a thick fog had come on, and the wind being at the time contrary to Vigo, no vessel could have gone there and returned within two days; we sailed, after having lain to for eighteen hours.

(Signed)

A. H.

I certify that the above letter from general Alten, with the memorandum of captain Augustus Heise, is a correct copy ex-



tracted from the official letter-book kept by the latter in his capacity of aide-de-camp to general Alten, during the march from Astorga to Vigo in 1808-9.

G. J. HARTMANN, K.C.B., major-general,  
*Late lieutenant-colonel K. G. L. artillery.*

## No. IX.

DOCUMENTS SHEWING THE LOSS OF THE FIRST AND SECOND LIGHT BATTALIONS KING'S GERMAN LEGION, BETWEEN ASTORGA AND VIGO IN 1808-9.

*Extract from the returns, in the adjutant-general's office, Horse-Guards, of the number of men who were left in Spain and Portugal by the army under the late lieutenant-general Sir John Moore.*

	Sergeants.	Trumpeters and Drummers.	Rank and File.
Forty-third foot .....	2	..	163
Fifty-second do.....	..	1	126
Ninety-fifth do. ....	..	5	209
First light battalion king's German legion	1	..	93
Second do. do. ....	..	..	67
Total.....	3	6	658*

The nominal returns of the three English regiments are so imperfect, that it is impossible to collect from them how many men of those regiments were left behind between Astorga and Vigo; but the number must have fallen considerably short of that which is apportioned to each British regiment above, as both battalions are there included. Of the fifty-second regiment

\* An additional number of two sergeants and sixty-two men of the forty-third regiment, which is added to the above in the original return, has not been included here, because, from the specifications of the places where the men were left behind, it does not appear that any of them were lost between Astorga and Vigo.

only twelve are returned as left behind on the retreat to Vigo, the rest being stated to have been left on the retreat to Corunna; and many of the forty-third, and the greater part of the ninety-fifth, are returned without any specification of the place where they were left behind. The returns of the German brigade are, however, complete, and the men are thus accounted for:—

First light battalion king's German legion.

PRIVATES.

Sent to general hospital, in Salamanca, 11th of December, 1808, and not since heard of .....	2
Ditto at Ciudad Rodrigo .....	1
On retreat from Villada to Majorga, detached to impress cars for the commissariat, and taken prisoners by the enemy..	3
Left sick at Castro Gonzales, and taken prisoner .....	1
Do. at Palacios, near Benavente, and do. ....	3
Dropped by fatigue between La Baneza and Astorga, supposed taken prisoners .....	7
Traced as far as Corunna, but never rejoined battalion ....	1
Left sick at Astorga, and not since heard of .....	1
Left sick at Ravanal, supposed dead .....	1
Conveyed sick on carts as far as Astorga, but from thence the roads through Galicia not admitting of the same conveyance, were placed upon mules, and owing to the exhausted state of the animals, and the deep snow, were prevented from keeping up with the column, and probably perished on the road .....	6
Left on command at Ponferrada to impress bread for the commissariat, while the division marched on towards Vigo; but owing to the delay of procuring it, and the almost impracticable roads, could not come up again with the division, and were either taken prisoners by the enemy, or killed by the Spaniards .....	36

# KING'S GERMAN LEGION.

375

Dropped on the different marches between El Burgo and Vigo, and as no conveyance could be procured to bring them on, were left on the road, and therefore either perished, or were taken prisoners .....	24
Dangerously wounded at the battle of Talavera, 18th July, 1809, and taken prisoners with hospital, (including one sergeant) .....	6
Do. and taken prisoners in the hospital of Plasencia .....	2
Total, (1 sergeant) .....	<hr/> 94 <hr/>

## Second light battalion, king's German legion.

Sent into the general hospital, at Salamanca, and not since heard of .....	2
Left sick at Castro Gonzales, supposed taken prisoner ....	1
Dropped on the different marches from Majorga to Orense, and as no conveyance could be procured to bring them on, were left on the road, and, therefore, either perished, or have been taken prisoners by the enemy.....	46
Left dangerously ill at Ravanal, supposed dead.....	1
Left on command at different places to impress bread for the commissariat, while the division marched on towards Vigo, bnt owing to the delay in procuring it, and the almost impracticable roads, could not come up again with the division, and were either taken prisoners by the enemy, or killed by the Spaniards ... ..	17
Total .....	<hr/> 67 <hr/>

Of these, it will be seen that several were left behind previous to the brigade arriving at Astorga, and that eight men are included in the return of the first light battalion, who were taken prisoners after the battle of Talavera. Deducting these—namely, from the first light battalion twenty-seven, and from the second light battalion three—the total number of men of the legion

brigade that were left behind between Astorga and Vigo, and did not rejoin their regiments, will be a hundred and thirty-one; thus

Total as per return, First light battalion .....	94	
Second do. do. ....	67	
		<hr/>
		161
Deduct, First light battalion ....	27	
Second do. do. ....	3	
		<hr/>
		30
		<hr/>
Total .....	131	<hr/>

## No. X.

## A.

## DETAIL OF THE LOSS OF THE TRANSPORT SMALLBRIDGE.

*Extract from the evidence of Cornelius Plügge, private in the fourth company of the second light battalion, king's German legion, given before a Court of Inquiry at Aveiros de Baixo, in Portugal, December 23d, 1810.*

(TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN.)

\* \* \* \* \*

On the 10th of January, 1809, witness embarked in this transport, at Vigo, as servant to quarter-master Willan; he believes the whole number of men of the light brigade, which were also embarked in the vessel, amounted to a hundred and eighty; the officers were:—Captain Wilcken, lieutenant Heimbruch, ensign Augsburg, ensign Riddle, and quarter-master Willan. In the afternoon of the 10th, it came on to blow so hard that one of the cables broke, and the master was obliged to cut the other, and go to sea. On going out the long boat was lost, and the mizen

sprung ; the rest of the fleet remained in Vigo. After proceeding some distance, the master opened his instructions, and found that his destination was Corunna. On the following morning the weather was very boisterous, and they had lost sight of land ; on the second day they fell in with a Spanish brig, from which the master learned that he had long passed Corunna ; upon this captain Wilcken, as the ship had suffered much, and little provisions were on board, persuaded the master not to return to that port, but to seek the first English harbour which he could make.

After beating on against violent winds, a private of the third company, named Mührling, saw, about three o'clock in the morning, a light, which appeared to be at the distance of two or three English miles ; this he pointed out to the mate, who immediately called up all the ship's company on deck. Upon this the captain said that " he now knew where he was ; this light was the light on the Scilly islands." About a quarter of an hour afterwards, high rocks and land were visible, and the vessel lay to ; the strong wind, however, continued to drive her nearer the rocks, and in about an hour afterwards she struck, the rudder was carried away, and the ship began to fill. Signals of distress, with guns and small arms, were incessantly fired, but without effect ; the pumps broke, and the water rose in the vessel.

Captain Wilcken having, with the rest of the officers, offered up a short prayer in the cabin, now came upon deck, and found the master, with four bladders fastened round his body, and a bundle in his hand, about to abandon the ship. Captain Wilcken immediately posted two sentries upon him with loaded rifles, to prevent his escape ; at the same time he directed all the men who could row to get into the boats. Upon this, witness, corporal Rode, and Boxmann, two buglemen, and Cornelius Bogart, of the second light battalion, and Ebeling and Heuer, of the first light battalion, with one sailor (an Italian), got into the jolly boat, while Peters, Nemscheck, Fahrenholtz, Müring, Mezer, Wessel, Stutzer, and Schmidt, of the second light battalion, went into the other boat, with orders to row, if possible, on shore, and send off some help to the ship. During

this time the vessel struck violently upon the rocks, and lay over so much on one side that several persons were drowned between the decks. Half an hour after they had left the vessel they could see by the light of the tower that she went down.

After buffetting with the waves for five hours, they came so near the coast, that the people on shore were able to make signals to them with poles, to approach the land which they reached between ten and eleven o'clock, and found that they had landed on the island of Ushant on the coast of France. They were here declared prisoners of war, but were well treated by the inhabitants, who took them the next day to the main land. From hence they were removed to Brest, where they arrived after a march of five hours, and received the usual clothing of prisoners of war. After a few days they were removed to Arras, which place they reached in the course of a month. Eight months afterwards, witness, as well as twenty English sailors and soldiers, made their escape; but fifteen of the party were taken the first day by the *gens-d'armes*. He and six others came, after much difficulty, nearly to Antwerp, where he and one of the Englishmen were taken and brought to Antwerp by the *gens-d'armes*. Here he remained two days, and was then sent back to Arras, where he was forced to serve in the Irish brigade. They promised him a hundred livres bounty, but he never received any. \* \* \* \*

On the first of November, 1810, he found the first opportunity to desert, and persuaded his whole mess, consisting of ten men, to do the same; he reached the English army at Sobral in safety, was from thence sent to Belem, and on the 6th of December, 1810, to the detachment at Aveiros de Baixo. \* \* \*

## B.

RETURN OF THE OFFICERS, NON-COMMISSIONED OFFICERS AND SOLDIERS OF THE LIGHT BRIGADE OF THE KING'S GERMAN LEGION, who were lost on board the *Smallbridge* transport, on the return of sir John Moore's army to England in January 1809.

BATTALIONS.	Officers.	Sergeants.	Rank and File.	Total.
1st light battalion, king's German legion .....	..	..	22	22
2d light battalion, king's German legion .....	5	7	180	192
Total.....	5	7	202	214

## RANK AND NAMES OF THE OFFICERS.

Captain Bodo Wilcken.

Lieutenant George von Heimbruch.

Ensign Charles Augustus Augspurg.

Ensign William Riddle.

Quartermaster James Willan.

} 2d light battalion.

(Signed)

LEWIS BENNE.

Hanover, December 22, 1830.

RETURN OF THE CORPS OF THE KING'S GERMAN LEGION employed in the expedition to the Scheldt, under the command of lieutenant-general the earl of Chatham, K. G. in 1809.

CORPS.	Colonel.	Lieut.-colonels.	Majors.	Captains.	Lieutenants.	Cornets and Ensigns.	Paymaster.	Adjutant.	Quartermaster.	Surgeon.	Asst.-Surgeon.	Vet. Surgeon.	Troop Quartermaster.	Sergants.	Trumpeters & Buglemen.	Corporals.	Privates.	Grand Total.	Horses.
																			73 off-icers. 616 hus-sar.
2d hussars under command of colonel Victor von Alten—per return of 1st August, 1809, when on board of transports going to the Scheldt.....	1	1	2	8	7	8	1	1	..	1	2	1	8	34	8	32	547	662	616
1st light battalion under command of lieutenant-colonel Ernest Leonhardt .....	..	1	1	3	12	6	1	..	1	1	1	..	..	37	15	36	669	784	..
2d light battalion under the command of lieutenant-colonel commandant Colin Halkett. The lieutenant-colonel was soon after ordered to England, and major Charles Best received the command of the battalion .....	..	1	2	4	10	5	1	1	..	1	1	..	..	33	16	30	583	688	..
Total.....	1	3	5	15	29	19	3	2	1	3	4	1	8	104	39	98	1799	2134	616

Hanover, December 22d, 1830.

(Signed)

LEWIS BENNE.



**RETURN OF THE KILLED, WOUNDED AND MISSING OF THE KING'S GERMAN  
action with the French army commanded by Joseph Bonaparte in person  
July, 1809.**

DATES.	CORPS.
27th July .....	{ 2d and 4th batteries of foot artillery ..... 1st Regiment of hussars ..... Detachments of 1st and 2d light battalions under the Adolphus William von Wurmb of the 2d line b 1st line battalion ..... 2d do. do. .... 5th do. do. .... 7th do. do. ....
28th July .....	{ 2d and 4th batteries of foot artillery ..... 1st regiment of hussars ..... Detachments of 1st and 2d light battalions, under the Adolphus William von Wurmb of the 2d line b 1st line battalion ..... 2d do. do. .... 4th do. do. .... 5th do. do. .... 7th do. do. ....
	Grand total...

Hanover, December 22d, 1830.

[To face p. 380, *Appendix.*]

# RANK AND NAMES OF THE OFFICERS OF THE REGIMENT DE LA REYNA.

28th July.. { 4th line battalion, 1st and 2d line battalions.]  
 1st do. do. ....  
 5th do. do. ....

27th July.. { 1st hussars .....  
 2d light battalion, 1st and 2d line battalions.]  
 1st line battalion, 1st and 2d line battalions.]  
 7th do. ....  
 1st hussars .....

Langwerth.

1st line battalion,

1809.

er, 1809.

t, 1809.

28th July.. { 2d line battalion, 1st and 2d line battalions.]  
 1st do. do. ....  
 5th do. ....  
 7th do. ....

t, 1809.

1st line battalion

5th do. ....

7th do. ....

1st hussars .....

Returned from captivity. { May 1814.  
 May 1814.  
 June 1810.  
 Sept. 1812.  
 June 1810.

A great number of the sick and wounded, and for the greater part wounded, and ascertained to be  
 Hanover, Dec. 22, 1830.

LEWIS BENNE.

RETURN OF CASUALTIES IN THE FIRST AND SECOND LIGHT BATTALIONS OF THE KING'S GERMAN LEGION during the operations  
in the Isle of Walcheren in 1809.

	KILLED.			WOUNDED.		
	Officers.	Sergeants.	Rank and File.	Officers.	Sergeants.	Rank and File.
1st light battalion [On the 7th August, 1809, in the affair before Flushing]	..	..	4	2	1	12
1st do. { [Between the 8th and 15th August, 1809, before ]	..	..	..	..	..	7
2d do. { Flushing] ..... }	1	..	3	..	..	12
Total.....	1	..	7	2	1	31

*Names of the officers killed and wounded.*

7th August, 1809.—1st light battalion, Lieutenant Frederick William Augustus du Fay, dangerously.\*  
14th do. 2d do. Ensign Frederick von Hedemann, do.  
Lieutenant Florian Sprecher, killed.

(Signed) LEWIS BENNE.

Hanover, 22d December, 1830.

\* This officer died of his wounds [as captain in the 2d light battalion] on the 11th February, 1810, at Porchester.

## No. XII.

RETURN OF KILLED, WOUNDED, AND MISSING, OF THE KING'S GERMAN LEGION, in action with the enemy on the 27th of September 1810, in the position of Busaco.

CORPS.	KILLED.				WOUNDED.							MISSING.				TOTAL.								
	Sergents.	Corporals.	Drummers.	Privates.	Majors.	Captains.	Lieutenants.	Ensigns.	Sergents.	Corporals.	Drummers.	Privates.	Sergents.	Corporals.	Drummers.	Privates.	Majors.	Captains.	Lieutenants.	Ensigns.	Sergents.	Corporals.	Drummers.	Privates.
1st light battalion detachment ..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	2	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3	..	..	12
2d do. do. ....	..	..	..	1	..	..	1	..	1	..	..	..	5	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	6
1st line battalion .....	..	..	..	3	..	..	1	..	1	..	..	..	4	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	7
2d do. do. ....	1	..	..	2	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	6	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	1	..	..	9
5th do. do. ....	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	8	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	9
7th do. do. ....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	3
Total .....	2	..	..	7	1	..	2	..	5	..	..	3	36	1	..	..	3	1	2	..	8	..	..	46

## OFFICERS WOUNDED.

RANK AND NAME.	REGIMENT.	REMARKS.
Major von Wurmb .....	2d line battalion.	.....slightly.
Lieutenant Stolte .....	2d light battalion detachment .....	.....severely.
Lieutenant von Düring .....	1st line battalion .....	.....slightly.
(Signed)		S. Löw, major-general.

## No. XIII.

## A.

RETURN OF KILLED, WOUNDED, AND MISSING OF THE KING'S GERMAN LEGION in action with the enemy on the 3d and 5th of May 1811, at and near *Fuentes de Onoro*.

CORPS.	On the 3d of May 1811.										On the 5th May 1811.											
	KILLED.					WOUNDED.					KILLED.					WOUNDED.					TOTAL.	
	Rank & file.	Horses.	Captains.	Sergents.	Drummers.	Rank & file.	Horses.	Captains.	Sergents.	Trumpeters.	Rank & file.	Horses.	Captains.	Sergents.	Trumpeters.	Rank & file.	Horses.	Rank & file.	Men.	Horses.		
1st hussars .....	1	5	4	1	1	1	5	1	1	1	1	5	1	1	1	1	5	1	1	50	26	
1st light battalion detachment .....	2	5	5	1	1	1	5	1	1	1	1	5	1	1	1	1	5	1	1	10	26	
2d do. ....	1	3	1	1	1	1	3	1	1	1	1	3	1	1	1	1	3	1	1	7	26	
1st line battalion .....	1	2	1	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	2	1	1	22	26	
2d do. ....	1	4	1	1	1	1	4	1	1	1	1	4	1	1	1	1	4	1	1	21	26	
5th do. ....	1	3	1	1	1	1	3	1	1	1	1	3	1	1	1	1	3	1	1	15	26	
7th do. ....	1	2	1	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	2	1	1	12	26	
Total .....	3	1	1	3	1	23	5	1	1	1	3	5	2	3	1	1	6	1	77	20	137	26

*Memorandum.*—The men returned “missing” are wounded and taken prisoners.

**B.**  
**OFFICERS OF THE KING'S GERMAN LEGION WOUNDED AT FUENTES DE ONORO.**

RANK AND NAME.	REGIMENT.	REMARKS.
Major Meyer .....	1st hussars .....	slightly.
Captain Krauchenberg .....	do. ....	do.
Captain von Gruben .....	do. ....	severely.
Lieutenant Krauchenberg .....	do. ....	do.
Major Beck .....	1st line battalion.....	slightly.
Captain Müller .....	2d line battalion .....	severely.
Captain von der Decken.....	do. ....	do.
Ensign Bachelé.....	7th line battalion .....	do.

## No. XIV.

*Letter from captain Cleeves to major Hartmann, relative to the loss of a howitzer of captain Cleeves's battery, in the battle of Albuera.*

*Camp near Albuera,  
May 20, 1811.*

SIR,

ACCORDING to your request, to explain the loss of the howitzer in the battle of the 16th instant, I have the honour to state as follows:—

The enemy began the battle with a pretty heavy cannonade on our left, which the battery of artillery under my command opposed. The action getting warm on our centre and right, the first brigade of general Stewart's division (colonel Colborne's) was ordered to the scene of action with four guns of my battery, to the right of the head of the column, and the remaining two followed the rear. Getting near the enemy, I formed line, and came to action on the top of a hill, about eighty or ninety yards distance from the enemy's column (which I imagined was just going to deploy) to cover the formation of our infantry, which formed in the rear of my guns, making the hill nearly the centre of this front.

The left of our line discharged a volley of musketry and charged the enemy, but were repulsed; the right did the same and would have been successful, had not, in this critical moment, our soldiers descried the enemy's cavalry, which tried, *ventre à terre*, to turn our right flank, and our line gave way.

I had then no other chance left to cover our soldiers and save the guns (the men ran through our intervals, which prevented our limbering up) but to stand firm, and to fight our ground. We prevented the cavalry from breaking our centre; but finding no opposition on our right, they turned us, and cut and piked the

gunners of the right division down. The left division limbered up, and both guns would have been saved; but the shaft horses of the right gun were wounded, and came down, and the leading driver of the left gun got shot from his horse. Corporal Henry Fincke had presence of mind enough to quit his horse, to replace the driver, and then galloped boldly through the enemy's cavalry; his own horse, which ran alongside of him, secured him from the enemy's cuts and saved the gun, which I immediately made join the fight again. At this moment I was made prisoner, but had the good luck to escape unhurt.

Two guns were nearly immediately retaken; but the howitzer was carried off. Lieutenant Blumenbach was taken and wounded with the left division; lieutenant Thiele and myself were taken with the right; the former badly wounded by the Polish lancers.

I have the honour to remain, Sir,

(Signed)

ANDREW CLEEVES,

*Captain King's German Artillery.*

TO MAJOR HARTMANN, &c. &c.



## No. XV.

RETURN OF KILLED, WOUNDED, AND MISSING, OF THE KING'S GERMAN LEGION,  
at the battle of Albuera, 16th of May, 1811. (From the London Gazette.)

REGIMENTS.	KILLED.			WOUNDED.							MISSING.					
	Lieutenants.	Rank and file.	Horses.	Majors.	Captains.	Lieutenants.	Ensigns.	Sergeants.	Rank and file.	Horses.	Lieutenants.	Trumpeters.	Rank and file.	Horses.	Total.	Horses.
1st light battalion .....	..	4	..	1	2	..	1	3	55	..	..	..	2	..	68	..
2d do. do.....	1	3	..	..	1	..	..	3	28	..	..	..	1	..	37	..
Artillery ....	..	..	24	..	..	2	..	..	16	..	1	1	29	10	48	34
Grand total ..	1	7	24	1	3	2	1	6	99	..	1	1	32	10	153	34

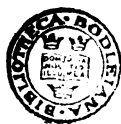
## OFFICERS WOUNDED.

RANK AND NAME.	REGIMENT.	REMARKS.
Major Hartwig.....	1st light battalion.....	slightly.
Captain Baring (aide-de-camp)	do.....	do.
Captain Rudorff .....	do.....	do.
Captain Arnold Heise .....	2d light battalion .....	mortally.
Lieutenant Hartwig.....	1st do. ....	slightly.
Lieutenant Fahle (adjutant) ..	do. ....	do.
Ensign Schmalhausen .....	do. ....	do.
Lieutenant Thiele.....	artillery .....	severely.
Lieutenant Blumenbach .....	do.....	slightly (missing.)

*Memorandum.*

The greater number of officers and men returned "missing" rejoined their regiments.

END OF VOL. I.



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